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Table of Contents

PREFACE v

CONTRIBUTORS vii

SPECIAL ARTICLES

Israel in 1982: The War in Lebanon — *Ralph Mandel* — 3

The United States and Israel: Impact of the Lebanon War — *George E. Gruen* — 73

U.S. Public Opinion Polls and the Lebanon War — *Geraldine Rosenfield* — 105

UNITED STATES

CIVIC AND POLITICAL

Intergroup Relations — *Murray Friedman* — 119

COMMUNAL

The Social Characteristics of the New York Area Jewish Community, 1981 — *Paul Ritterband and Steven M. Cohen* — 128

DEMOGRAPHIC

Jewish Population in the United States, 1983 — *Alvin Chenkin* — 162

OTHER COUNTRIES

CANADA	*Bernard Baskin*	175
WESTERN EUROPE		
Great Britain	*Lionel and Miriam Kochan*	187
France	*Arnold Mandel*	198
CENTRAL EUROPE		
Federal Republic of Germany	*Friedo Sachser*	205
German Democratic Republic	*Friedo Sachser*	210
EASTERN EUROPE		
Soviet Union	*Leon Shapiro*	212
Soviet Bloc Nations	*Leon Shapiro*	224
SOUTH AFRICA	*Denis Diamond*	235
WORLD JEWISH POPULATION	*U.O. Schmelz and Sergio DellaPergola*	247

DIRECTORIES, LISTS, AND NECROLOGY

NATIONAL JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS	
United States	261
Canada	303
JEWISH FEDERATIONS, WELFARE FUNDS, COMMUNITY COUNCILS	306
JEWISH PERIODICALS	
United States	320
Canada	328
NECROLOGY: UNITED STATES	329
SUMMARY JEWISH CALENDAR, 5744-5748 (Sept. 1983–Sept. 1988)	344

CONDENSED MONTHLY CALENDAR, 1983–1985 (5743–5746) 346

REPORT OF JEWISH PUBLICATION SOCIETY OF AMERICA 375

SPECIAL ARTICLES IN VOLUMES 51–83 OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK 386

INDEX 391

U.S. Public Opinion Polls and the Lebanon War

by GERALDINE ROSENFIELD

BETWEEN JUNE 6 and the end of September 1982 a number of polls measured American reactions to the Israeli incursion into Lebanon and the subsequent Beirut massacre. This article examines ten such polls and compares them with earlier ones.

The polls are as follows: Gallup, June 11–14; NBC, June 14–16; Harris, June 18–22; CBS, June 26–27; Los Angeles *Times,* July 4–8; Gallup, August 4–5 (*Newsweek,* August 16); NBC, August 9–10; ABC/Washington *Post,* August 17; Gallup, September 22–23 (Newsweek, October 4); ABC/Washington *Post,* September 24–26.*

Findings

Reading the poll responses chronologically, it is clear that there was some decrease in support for Israel as well as in seeing Israel as an ally. The popularity of Prime Minister Menachem Begin dropped with increasing media coverage of the events in Lebanon. Simultaneously, there was a rise in pro-Arab sentiment, though Israel was still preferred to the Arab nations. Only Egypt was looked upon as favorably as Israel.

Two of the ten polls asked about American Jews, and for the first time in several years the issue of the loyalty of Jews to the United States surfaced as a significant factor. What is more, many Americans, who in previous years had been almost unaware of the existence of antisemitism, stated that they expected it to increase because of events in Lebanon.

Between 20 and 25 per cent of the respondents consistently fell into the "don't know" category. In fact, on September 24, an ABC poll found as many as 44 per cent of Americans saying that they were not following Middle East events closely. (It has been repeatedly shown that many Americans are not interested in foreign affairs.)

Support/Sympathy

The standard question is: "In the Middle East, are your sympathies more with Israel or more with the Arab nations?" Table 1 shows how feelings

*See Appendix for tables.

about Israel have fluctuated over the years, depending on events, but always remaining between 40 and 50 per cent approving. Sympathy for the Arabs has grown steadily during the same period, with a jump from 18 to 27 per cent occurring after the Beirut massacre (while support for Israel remained close to 50 per cent). A likely assumption is that sympathy for the Arabs in August and September 1982 came from the ranks of those who in previous polls had said "neither." Note the drop in this category from 29 per cent in June 1982 to 12 per cent in September 1982 (Table 1).

On the whole, the public supported Israel over the Arabs by a margin of nearly two to one in June 1982 (Table 2). This was essentially the same as in June 1980, when CBS reported a ratio of 43 to 23 per cent.

After the Beirut massacre, a question about sympathy for Israel's position now as compared with the previous year (Table 3) indicated a sharp drop in support for the Jewish state: 51 per cent of the respondents were less sympathetic.

Perceptions of Israel

How is Israel's government regarded by Americans? Do Americans think of Israel as an ally? In July respondents were fairly evenly divided about Israel (Table 4): 46 per cent had a favorable impression of the Israeli government, whereas 48 per cent did not. A similar division manifested itself with regard to Saudi Arabia (45 to 45 per cent), while Egypt was seen in a far more positive light (59 to 27 per cent).

A question posed by Harris asked respondents to label various countries in the Middle East as either allies, friends, non-friends, or enemies (Table 5). Over a third saw Israel as an ally, and more than two-fifths as a friend. Egypt and Saudi Arabia were seen as friendly by more Americans, but were less often labeled as allies.

On three occasions an ABC question asked whether certain countries were reliable allies (Table 6). In October 1981, 64 per cent of the respondents had seen Israel as a reliable ally. By September 1982, however, only 40 per cent held this view. Still, with Egypt at 41 per cent, Israel and Egypt were the Middle East countries that Americans regarded most highly.

After the first news accounts of the Beirut massacre, most Americans judged Israel to be either partially or entirely responsible (Table 7).

Lebanon

The public seems not to have known its own mind on the subject of Israel's action in Lebanon.

A week after Israel made its move into Lebanon, Gallup asked about Israeli military operations to stop Palestinian artillery attacks (Table 8).

More people said they approved (40 per cent) than disapproved (35 per cent). Several days later, however—presumably following intensive TV coverage—there was a sharp reversal in response to a similar NBC question (Table 9): 51 per cent disapproved and 25 per cent approved. A week later the respondents were almost evenly divided; asked by CBS whether Israel was right or wrong to go into Lebanon to stop the PLO, 34 per cent said right and 38 per cent replied wrong (Table 10).

Contradictory attitudes abounded. After the initial approval and subsequent disapproval, Americans seem to have wanted Israel to defeat its enemy, but without being aggressive (Tables 11 and 12), and to remain in Lebanon until a buffer zone was established, yet without having attacked in the first place (Tables 13 and 14). Despite growing disapproval by August, more respondents felt that Israel's action was justified than not (Tables 15 and 16). The findings of the ABC poll conducted on September 24–26 (Tables 17 and 18) were particularly contradictory: by more than four to one, Americans felt that removing the PLO from Lebanon would change things for the better; yet, 46 per cent of the same respondents felt that the Lebanese invasion was unjustified. (Compare the wording in Tables 16 and 18 for a possible explanation of the difference in response. In Table 16, Israel is "sending troops into Lebanon," in 18, Israel is "invading Lebanon.")

American Aid for Israel

On the whole, Americans approved of United States policy toward Israel. In July three-fifths said they wanted United States policy to remain as it was (Table 22). In August a plurality of 43 per cent stated that the United States gave Israel the right amount of military aid (Table 24). When asked specifically about reducing military aid to Israel, the respondents were equally divided, with 44 per cent saying yes and 46 per cent saying no (Table 19). On two occasions, military aid reduction was mentioned as one of a number of possible American responses to events in Lebanon. Within that framework, in June (Table 20), 24 per cent of Americans favored a reduction in military aid; in August (Table 23), 27 per cent said that the United States should suspend military aid for the time being, while 16 per cent wanted it cut off permanently. The most decisive response came to a question about selling F16 fighter planes to Israel: 55 per cent disapproved (Table 21).

Menachem Begin

Prior to the Beirut massacre, Prime Minister Begin enjoyed the good opinion of the American people. The 1978 Camp David agreement had brought his favorable rating to 59 per cent (Table 26), and in July 1982 three-fifths of the respondents still had a favorable impression of him (Table

27). Three ABC polls showed a lower favorable rating, and a steady decline from March to September 1982 (Table 28).

To a question in the September 22–23 Gallup poll (Table 29) whether Prime Minister Begin's policies were hurting support for Israel, fully 70 per cent of the national sample (and 78 per cent of an oversample of Jews) said yes. But the answers to this question, not to speak of the question itself, may have reflected the emotions of the moment.

American Jews

Two polls taken at the end of September posed questions about American Jews. In addition, Gallup interviewed an oversample of American Jews for their opinions. The response to the question about antisemitism, which asked whether people thought it would increase because of Mideast developments (Table 30), was striking. Heretofore most Americans had not thought of rising antisemitism as a real likelihood. In February 1981 Yankelovich, Skelly & White had asked whether people thought an increase in antisemitism was possible. Only a fifth of the sample thought so, and of that fifth only a tenth said problems in the Middle East could be a cause. Events in Lebanon obviously accounted for the 51 per cent who told Gallup in September 1982 that increased antisemitism was a possibility (Table 30). More than three-quarters of the Jews feared a rise in antisemitism.

Another disquieting element was the response to an ABC question about American Jewish support for Israel (Table 31). Forty-one per cent of the national sample agreed that Jews would support Israel even if this worked against the best interests of the United States. In the past (Gallup, March 1982 and other polls), only 30 per cent had expressed the view that Jews were more loyal to Israel than to the United States.

Of course, most Jews did not see themselves as favoring Israel to the detriment of the best interests of the United States. When Gallup asked Jews what they saw as the most appropriate role for American Jews in regard to Israel (Table 32), slightly less than a quarter urged unconditional support, more than a third recommended taking an active role to affect Israel's policies, and slightly under a third wanted to "remain neutral."

Despite the shock of the Beirut massacre (Table 7), American Jews did not withdraw their staunch support for Israel. When Gallup asked (September 22–23) whether United States aid to Israel should be suspended to force an Israeli pullout from Lebanon, 75 per cent of American Jews said no, compared with 38 per cent of the national sample (Table 25).

APPENDIX

TABLE 1. In the Middle East situation are your sympathies more with Israel or more with the Arab nations?

	ABC		L.A. Times	Gallup					
	9/82	8/82	7/82	6/82	5/82	'81	'79	'75	'67
				Per Cent					
Israel	48	52	48	52	51	44	40	44	56
Arab Nations	27	18	17	10	12	11	14	8	4
Neither	12	16	22	29	26	34	31	22	25
No Opinion	13	14	13	9	11	11	15	26	15

TABLE 2. What should the United States do: pay more attention to the Arabs or give strongest support to Israel? (CBS, June 26–27)

	Per Cent
Israel	41
Arabs	21
Both/Neither	12
No Answer	26

TABLE 3. Compared with a year ago, would you say you are more sympathetic or less sympathetic to the Israeli position? (Gallup, September 22–23)

	National Sample	American Jews
	Per Cent	
More	24	33
Less	51	36
Same	10	28
Don't Know	15	3

TABLE 4. What is your impression of the government of the following as of today? (L.A. *Times*, July 4–8)

	Favorable	Unfavorable	Not Sure
		Per Cent	
Israel	46	48	6
Egypt	59	27	14
Saudi Arabia	45	45	10
Lebanon	16	66	18
PLO	9	83	8

TABLE 5. Is this country a close ally of the United States, friendly, not friendly, enemy, not sure? (Harris, June 18–22)

	Ally	Friendly	Not Friendly	Enemy	Not Sure
			Per Cent		
Israel	35	44	11	2	8
Egypt	23	58	9	1	9
Saudi Arabia	12	46	25	6	11
Jordan	6	42	26	2	24

TABLE 6. Tell me whether you think this country is a reliable ally of the United States—one that can be trusted to cooperate with the U.S. (ABC/ Washington *Post,* September 24–26)

	Reliable			Not Reliable			No Opinion		
	1982		1981	1982		1981	1982		1981
	9/26	8/17	10/18	9/26	8/17	10/18	9/26	8/17	10/18
					Per Cent				
Canada	88	89	92	7	6	4	5	5	5
France	58	53	59	30	36	27	12	12	14
Egypt	41	39	59	40	41	24	19	19	17
Israel	40	44	64	45	42	24	15	15	13
Saudi Arabia	28	28	33	56	57	45	16	15	21
Jordan	21	26	n.a.	48	44	n.a.	31	30	n.a.
Syria	10	9	n.a.	62	64	n.a.	27	27	n.a.
Libya	10	11	8	69	66	71	21	23	20

TABLE 7. Which of the following comes closest to your view? Israel cannot be held responsible for the massacre because it was carried out by: (Gallup, September 22–23)

	National Sample	American Jews
	Per Cent	
Lebanese Christians	8	28
Israel must bear partial responsibility	49	54
Israel is very much responsible	32	11
Don't Know	11	7

TABLE 8. Israel recently began military operations in southern Lebanon to stop Palestinian artillery attacks on settlements in Israel. Do you approve or disapprove of this action? (Gallup, June 11–14)

	Per Cent
Approve	40
Disapprove	35
No Opinion	25

TABLE 9. Have you heard about recent fighting between Arab and Israeli forces in southern Lebanon? Do you approve or disapprove of the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon? (NBC, August 9–10)

	8/82*	6/82
	Per Cent	
Haven't Heard or Read	8	24
Approve	25	24
Disapprove	51	41
Not Sure	16	11

*In August the order of the words Arab and Israeli was reversed and southern was omitted before Lebanon.

TABLE 10. Some people say Israel is right to fight in Lebanon in order to stop the PLO. Others say Israel is wrong to go into Lebanese territory. Do you think that Israel is right or wrong to fight in Lebanon? (CBS, June 26–27)

	Per Cent
Right	34
Wrong	38
Other	4
No Opinion	24

TABLE 11. Do you think Israel's military action in Lebanon was defensive or aggressive—or haven't you heard enough yet to say? (L.A. *Times*, July 4–8)

	Per Cent
Unaware	20
Defensive	27
Aggressive	42
Not Sure/No Answer	11

TABLE 12. Should the Israeli army have finished the job of pushing the PLO out of Lebanon? (L.A. *Times,* July 4–8)

	Per Cent
Unaware	20
Should	46
Should Not	24
Not Sure/No Answer	10

TABLE 13. Should the Israeli army stay until a buffer zone is established between southern Lebanon and northern Israel? (L.A. *Times,* July 4–8)

	Per Cent
Unaware	20
Should	51
Should Not	18
Not Sure/No Answer	11

TABLE 14. Should Israel have attacked Lebanon to begin with? (L.A. *Times,* July 4–8)

	Per Cent
Unaware	13
Should	24
Should Not	50
Not Sure/No Answer	13

TABLE 15. The Israelis sent their military forces into Lebanon. Do you approve or disapprove of this action? (Gallup, August 4–5)

	Per Cent
Approve	30
Disapprove	60
Don't Know	10

TABLE 16. The Israelis have given the following reasons for sending troops into Lebanon: to stop the rocket attacks on Israeli settlements and to remove PLO military forces from Lebanon. Do you think the Israelis were justified in sending troops into Lebanon for these reasons or not? (Gallup, August 4–5)

	Per Cent
Justified	47
Not Justified	41
Don't Know	12

TABLE 17. Do you think the Israeli invasion to remove the PLO from Lebanon will change things for the better or worse in the Middle East? (ABC/Washington *Post,* September 24–26)

	9/24–26	8/17
	Per Cent	
Change for the Better	46	42
Change for the Worse	10	22
Won't Change Things at All	7	9
No Opinion	17	26

TABLE 18. Some people say Israel was justified in invading Lebanon. Others say Israel was not justified. What do you think? (ABC/Washington *Post,* September 24–26)

	9/24–26	8/17
	Per Cent	
Justified	37	37
Not Justified	46	41
Don't Know/No Opinion	17	21

TABLE 19. Should the United States reduce military aid to Israel? (NBC, June 14–16)

	Per Cent
Yes	44
No	46
Not Sure	10

TABLE 20. What should the United States do? (CBS, June 26–27)

	Per Cent
Publicly Support Israel	20
Say or Do Nothing	32
Publicly Criticize Israel	7
Reduce Military Aid to Israel	24
No Opinion	17

TABLE 21. Should Congress approve the sale of F-16 fighter planes to Israel? (L.A. *Times,* July 4–8)

	Per Cent
Approve	35
Not Approve	55
Not Sure/No Answer	10

TABLE 22. Do you think United States foreign policy should be more pro-Israel or more pro-Arab, or should it stay the way it is? (L.A. *Times*, July 4–8)

	Per Cent
More Pro-Israel	10
Same	60
More Pro-Arab	16
No Answer	13

TABLE 23. In the past few days Israel has sent its military forces into West Beirut to try to expel the PLO military forces. What should the United States government do? (Gallup, August 4–5)

	Per Cent
Support Israel's Actions	16
Criticize Israel & Pressure Diplomatically	16
Suspend Military Aid for Time Being	27
Permanently Cut Off Military Aid	16
Do Nothing	15
Don't Know	10

TABLE 24. How do you feel about United States military aid to Israel? (NBC, August 9–10)

	8/82	1/82	8/81
		Per Cent	
We Give Too Much Aid	36	30	37
Right Amount of Aid	43	49	42
Not Enough Aid	6	7	7
Not Sure	15	14	14

TABLE 25. Do you think United States aid to Israel should be suspended or reduced in order to force a pullout of Israel's forces from Lebanon? (Gallup, September 22–23)

	National Sample	American Jews
	Per Cent	
Should Be Suspended	50	18
Should Not Be Suspended	38	75
Don't Know	12	7

TABLE 26. On a scale of plus-5 (most favorable) to minus-5 (most unfavorable) how far up or down the scale would you rate Menachem Begin? (Gallup, June 11–14)

	6/82	1981	1978 (After Camp David)	1978 (Before Camp David)
			Per Cent	
Total Favorable	52	54	59	39
Highly Favorable	9	10	11	8

TABLE 27. What is your impression of Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin, as of today? (L.A. *Times,* July 4–8)

	Per Cent
Favorable	60
Unfavorable	35
Not Sure	5

TABLE 28. Would you say your feelings about Prime Minister Menachem Begin are: (ABC/Washington *Post,* August 17)

	9/26/82	8/17/82	3/8/82
		Per Cent	
Favorable	26	32	39
Unfavorable	47	32	22
No Opinion	27	36	38

TABLE 29. Do you think Israeli Prime Minister Begin's policies are hurting support for Israel in the United States? (Gallup, September 22–23)

	National Sample	American Jews	
	9/22/82	9/22/82	9/81
		Per Cent	
Yes	70	78	53
No	12	12	34
Don't Know	18	10	13

TABLE 30. Do you think antisemitism in the United States is likely to increase because of recent developments in the Mideast? (Gallup, September 22–23)

	National Sample	American Jews
	Per Cent	
Yes	51	77
No	35	20
Don't Know	14	3

TABLE 31. American Jews will support anything the country of Israel does even if it is against the best interest of the United States. Do you agree or disagree? (ABC, September 24–26)

	Per Cent
Agree	41
Disagree	53
No Answer	6

TABLE 32. What do you believe is the most appropriate role for American Jews concerning Israel? (Gallup, September 22–23)

	American Jews	
	9/82	9/81
	Per Cent	
Take an active role in trying to affect Israel's policies	36	31
Support Israel's government regardless of the Israeli government actions	24	30
Try to remain neutral	30	27
Don't Know	10	12

Communal

The Social Characteristics of the New York Area Jewish Community, 1981

Current Distribution and Recent Trends

In 1981 an estimated 1,670,700 Jewish persons resided in the eight-county area consisting of New York City (Manhattan, Brooklyn, the Bronx, Queens, and Staten Island), Westchester, Nassau, and Suffolk (see Table 1.1).* Within New York City there were 1,133,100 Jewish persons, with an additional 537,600 in the three suburban counties. Brooklyn had the largest Jewish population —one fourth of the area's total—followed by Queens, Nassau, and Manhattan. The Bronx and Staten Island had the smallest Jewish populations; less than a tenth of the region's total Jewish population lived in these two counties combined.

Jews constituted 16 per cent of the population of the eight-county area, with the highest concentration (i.e., Jews as a percentage of total population) in Nassau, where Jews comprised 23 per cent of the total. In Manhattan and Brooklyn, the Jewish population was 19 per cent of the total population. By contrast, in Suffolk, Staten Island, and the Bronx, the Jewish population was less than one-tenth of the total. The other counties lay between these two extremes.

Note: In 1981, UJA/Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York asked the authors to conduct a scientific sample survey of Jews in Federation's eight-county service area. The 1981 Greater New York Jewish Population Study interviewed 4,505 Jewish respondents by telephone and mail. The study sought to ascertain population size and distribution, family patterns, Jewish identity, social status, and neighborhood orientations. This article is based on the public report issued by UJA/Federation. It contains a broad overview of the major social characteristics of New York area Jews, emphasizing the considerable inter-county diversity that exists.

Additional analytic and descriptive studies of the New York area Jewish community are currently under way. Among the subjects being dealt with are the Jewish family, patterns of Jewish identity, intermarriage and conversion, the Jewish poor, Soviet Jews, Israelis, and philanthropic behavior.

*See Appendix for tables.

Between 1957 and 1981 there were significant changes in the distribution and location of the eight-county area population as a whole, as well as in the Jewish population specifically. One of the most striking changes was the growth of the Jewish suburban population. In 1957, only 18 per cent of the area's Jewish population resided in the suburbs. By 1981, 32 per cent of the Jewish population was suburban. By way of comparison, the total suburban population (i.e., Jews and non-Jews together) was 24 per cent of the area's total in 1957, and 33 per cent in 1981. Relative to the total population, the Jewish population was less suburbanized in 1957, but was equally suburbanized by 1981.

The older areas of Jewish settlement tended to decline, some quite dramatically, while the newer areas grew. The sharpest decline occurred in the Bronx, where the Jewish population decreased from several hundred thousand in the 1950's to 95,800 in 1981. The greatest increase in Jewish population occurred in Suffolk County; in the 1950's relatively few Jews lived in Suffolk, whereas by 1981 the Suffolk Jewish community numbered over 100,000 persons. During the same period, the total Suffolk population grew from 529,000 to 1,284,000.

Nassau was the only suburban county that experienced a decline in total population during the 1970's. Nassau's total population was 1,179,000 in 1957; it peaked at 1,424,000 in 1970; following that it dropped to 1,322,000 by 1980. The Long Island Regional Planning Board, in commenting on the decline in Nassau's population, pointed to several contributing factors. It noted, for example, that there had been a virtual cessation of in-migration to Nassau County by the 1970's. In addition, the Nassau population had been aging, thus leading to a reduction in the birth rate. Finally, young adults and retirees had been moving out of the county. These trends affected Nassau's Jewish population as well. An estimate of over 300,000 Jews in 1981 is consistent with what is known about general population developments in Nassau County.

With all the shifts and changes that have occurred in population numbers and population mix over the years, certain factors have remained constant. An example is the Jewish population of New York City as a fraction of the total white, non-Hispanic population. In 1940, 30 per cent of the white, non-Hispanic population was Jewish; in 1950, 31 per cent; in 1955, 31 per cent; and in 1981, 31 per cent.

Household Composition and Age Distribution

Of the eight counties, Brooklyn had the largest number of Jewish households, followed closely by Manhattan. At the other end of the spectrum, Staten Island had the smallest number of Jewish households. The Bronx and Westchester were closest to Staten Island.

The number of Jewish households in each of the counties of the study area where one or more persons in the household was Jewish is shown in Table 2.1 and Table 2.2. For purposes of this study, a Jewish household was defined as one in which there was at least one self-defined Jew. Thus, an intermarried household was defined as

"Jewish," even though there were one or more persons in it who were not currently Jewish. Two different population figures can be derived: (1) only Jewish persons residing in a household previously defined as Jewish and (2) a larger figure which encompasses non-Jewish persons as well. Both sorts of figures are shown in Table 2.1.

The New York area's nearly 700,000 Jewish households can be divided into recognizable social types of families based on stages in the life cycle—young singles, young couples without children, two and one-parent families with children, mature couples, and mature singles. Such distributions are found in Table 2.3, parts A and B. Table 2.3A gives the number of each type of household found in each of the counties, while Table 2.3B reports percentages.

The largest single group, 208,000 households, was made up of two-parent families with children. The two-parent household was most common in the three suburban counties and Staten Island. Though the three suburban counties accounted for only one-third of the total Jewish population of the area, they held almost half of the households with two-parent, two-generation families. Reflecting the recency of their settlement, over half of the Jewish households in Suffolk and Staten Island were in the "parent" category. Overall, there were 27,300 single-parent households.

The Bronx and Manhattan had the smallest average household sizes, and were most likely to contain single-person households. "Singleness" lies at the extremes of the adult life cycle. For the eight-county area, the number of young singles (under 45) and mature singles (45 and over) was almost equal. Half of the young singles in the eight-county area resided in Manhattan; none of the other counties approached Manhattan either in the proportion or absolute number of young singles. Approximately one-third of all mature singles in the eight-county area also lived in Manhattan. However, the Bronx, followed by Manhattan, had the largest proportion of mature singles relative to the population within the county. Mature couples without children living at home were found most frequently in the older areas of Jewish settlement, i.e., Brooklyn, the Bronx, Queens, Nassau, and Westchester.

The distribution of marital status (Table 2.4) presents patterns which are consistent with the distribution of household types. In each of the counties, the currently married were the most common type. The incidence of marriage was highest in the suburbs and Staten Island, and lowest in Manhattan. Manhattan was the preeminent home of the never-marrieds; very few never-marrieds lived in the suburbs or Staten Island. Manhattan also had a relatively large number and proportion of divorced Jews. The Bronx had a relatively large proportion of widowed Jews, a correlate of the county's age distribution.

Approximately two-thirds of all Jewish households were without children living at home (see Table 2.5). The highest proportions of households without children were in Manhattan and the Bronx, although the factors that were applicable in each case were quite different. At the other end of the spectrum, large families (3 or more children at home) were most frequently found in Staten Island, Suffolk, and Nassau.

Household size and composition tend to reflect age distribution. Overall, the

eight-county area median age for the Jewish population was 40 years; this may be contrasted with medians for the general American population and the general eight-county area population that were, respectively, ten to eight years less. The high Jewish median age was a result of both lower mortality and fertility. The proportion of persons aged 14 and younger in the Jewish community was smaller than in the general population of the eight-county area and the nation, while the proportion aged 55 and older was larger. (See Table 2.6)

The median age of the Jewish population varied by county: the youngest was in Staten Island and Suffolk; the oldest in the Bronx, Queens, and Brooklyn; the other counties fell between these extremes. The rank order of the median ages by county followed in part the relative recency of large-scale Jewish settlement. Staten Island and Suffolk were the two most recent areas of Jewish settlement, and they had the youngest populations. These two counties were followed by the older populations of Nassau and Westchester, which received large influxes of young Jewish families in the post-World War II period. Queens was the next oldest county, having experienced a very sizable Jewish influx in the immediate, post-World War II years. The Bronx was largely an area of second settlement, and its Jewish population reached a maximum size sometime between 1930 and 1940.

Table 2.7A and Table 2.7B present more detailed age distributions by county. The former reports the number of Jewish persons in each age category, while the latter reports their percentages. Senior citizens (65 years of age or older) comprised almost a third of the Jewish population of the Bronx. By contrast, Manhattan, Brooklyn, and Queens each had no more than a fifth of their populations in this age category. In the suburban counties and Staten Island, senior citizens amounted to less than a tenth of the population. As one would expect, Suffolk and Staten Island, the newest areas of settlement, had the highest proportions of dependent children, with approximately two-fifths of each of their Jewish populations under the age of twenty. In Nassau and Westchester the under-20 population was 29 per cent of the total. The other counties ranged from 13 per cent (the Bronx) to 21 per cent (Brooklyn) under-20 population. As was noted above, Manhattan had relatively few young children and large numbers of young singles. Manhattan, followed by Brooklyn and Staten Island, was the home of the young adults (ages 20–34), who were establishing themselves in their careers, and were in the early stages of family formation.

In significant ways, both Manhattan and Brooklyn prove exceptions to the common sense notion of a close connection between current age distribution and historic period of settlement. Manhattan, despite its being the first area of Jewish settlement (the turn-of-the-century Lower East Side received an enormous influx of new Jewish arrivals from abroad) was among the youngest counties in 1981. Brooklyn, with a predominantly second-generation Jewish population that was approximately one-and-one-half times as large as that which existed in the Bronx for many years (roughly from the Depression to the post-World War II period), still retained a very large Jewish population, with substantial numbers of children and young parents.

The Jewish population of the Bronx was less than a quarter of that of Brooklyn, and consisted of disproportionate numbers of the elderly.

The reasons for Manhattan's unique pattern are readily apparent. For over a decade, the county had experienced an influx of socio-economically "upscale" individuals (often singles or young couples) of all ethnic backgrounds. Why Brooklyn's Jewish population decreased very little, while that of the Bronx declined considerably, is more of a mystery. Among the factors that might have played a role here are the substantial number of Orthodox institutions that were historically located in Brooklyn, the availability of private homes in the county to accommodate and anchor an upwardly-mobile Jewish population, and Brooklyn's highly developed infrastructure of general community facilities, including major shopping areas, recreational outlets, and cultural institutions.

Nativity is an important correlate of age. Areas of older settlement would be likely to contain larger first-generation populations, while newer areas would be expected to have more native-born persons, whose parents were also born in the United States. Table 2.8 shows that this is in fact true. The suburbs, Staten Island, and Manhattan had larger proportions of third-generation Jews (native-born individuals with native-born parents), while the areas of second settlement (e.g., the Bronx) had the smallest fraction of third-generation adults.

Jewishness: Identification, Affiliation, and Practice

In this section the Jewishness of the Jewish population of New York will be described from several perspectives. Attention will be given to aspects of religious behavior and identification, affiliation with major communal institutions, Jewish education, relationships with Israel, and relationships with fellow Jews.

Table 3.1 reports eight Jewish rituals and practices in the order of their frequency of observance among Jewish households in greater New York. The most common Jewish observance was attendance at a Passover Seder. The Seder, with its gathering of family and friends, and festive meal, was observed by nine out of ten Jewish households. The wide appeal of the Seder was such that there was little variation by county. Following the Seder were the kindling of Hanukkah candles, having a *mezuzah* on the doorpost, and fasting on Yom Kippur. With the exception of unusually low rates in Manhattan, there was little variation in the proportions observing these practices. (Manhattan is a special case; the county's unconventional family patterns, particularly the absence of children, no doubt helped to depress ritual observance frequencies.) The next three practices—lighting Sabbath candles, having separate meat and dairy dishes, and buying only kosher meat—were observed by substantial minorities (30 per cent to 37 per cent). The most stringent ritual—not handling money on the Sabbath—was practiced by a much smaller group, 12 per cent.

The patterns of ritual observance suggest the existence of subcommunities within New York Jewry. At one end of the spectrum were the traditionalists, who were

strict Sabbath observers. At the other end of the spectrum were the totally secularized Jews, who observed none or few of the rituals. In the middle were the partially traditional Jews. In terms of these loosely constructed categories, Manhattan had the highest proportion of secularized Jews, while Brooklyn was home to the highest proportion of fully traditional Jews. The Bronx, Queens, and Staten Island were closer to the traditional pole, while the suburban counties leaned toward the secular end of the spectrum.

Turning to the service attendance data (Table 3.2), as many as 30 per cent of adult men and women never attended synagogue services. At the same time, one-seventh of the men, and one in twelve women, reported attending synagogue services at least weekly. The world of daily, public Jewish worship was largely a man's world. Consistent with the other ritual observances, Manhattan had the highest proportion of those who never attended synagogue services, while Brooklyn had the highest proportion of regular weekly and daily worshipers.

Two in five New York area Jewish households reported belonging to a synagogue. (Data not shown.) This percentage is somewhat higher than expected, although Jewish community studies in other cities generally report even higher rates of synagogue membership. It is important to note that some individuals may simply have attended synagogue services and participated in synagogue activities without being dues-paying members.

Manhattan reported the lowest level of affiliation. The suburbs, despite their relatively low rates of ritual observance and synagogue attendance, had high rates of synagogue membership—in two instances higher than that of traditionalist Brooklyn. Clearly, suburban Jews reflected the middle-class suburban penchant for joining voluntary organizations, especially religious congregations.

Area-wide, one out of eight Jewish households reported belonging to a YMHA or Jewish community center. There was little variation between counties.

New York Jews had little trouble in using denominational labels to describe their Jewishness. (See Table 3.3) Overall, more than three-fourths of New York Jews identified with one of the three large denominational movements. The largest single group claimed allegiance to Conservative Judaism. This was followed by the Reform Jews, and, finally, the Orthodox. Manhattanites, with their low levels of ritual observance, were twice as likely as all others to reject identification with a major denomination. Identification as Reform Jews occurred most frequently in the suburbs, where Orthodox adherents were least likely to be found. Orthodoxy was most common in the Bronx and Brooklyn; the latter county, with its large population, was the demographic "heartland" of New York's Orthodox community. Conservative Jews were fairly evenly distributed throughout the suburbs and in the city proper.

The maintenance of a large network of Jewish social, religious, and cultural services in New York is made possible by voluntary contributions. Historically, such philanthropic contributions have been an integral part of Jewish communal life. (See Table 3.4) One in four New York Jewish households reported having made a

contribution of $25 or more to the UJA/Federation campaign during the previous year, and almost half reported contributions of $25 or more to other Jewish causes, excluding synagogues. Over 60 per cent of Jewish households reported giving $25 or more to non-sectarian causes. Westchester and Nassau, with their affluence and high rates of synagogue affiliation, had the highest proportions of UJA/Federation givers, while Brooklyn and the Bronx—two of the poorer counties—had the lowest. Manhattan was home to many economically comfortable Jews, but, because they tended to be secularized and unaffiliated, the county had a relatively low level of UJA/Federation giving.

Two crucial indicators of Jewishness within the family are rates of intermarriage and the kinds of Jewish education given to children. Intermarriage is here defined as marriage to a spouse who is *currently* not Jewish; where an originally non-Jewish spouse converted (formally or not) to Judaism, the household is *not* defined as intermarried. Area-wide, one out of ten Jewish households was intermarried. The intermarried were most common in Staten Island (18 per cent) and Suffolk (22 per cent), the two counties of newest settlement, as well as in secularized Manhattan (19 per cent); they were less common in Queens (7) and Brooklyn (6), the Bronx (9), Westchester (11), and Nassau (9). Analysis (not shown) indicates that intermarriage was more prevalent among younger Jews; the number of intermarriages among recently married couples was certainly higher than the composite figures reported here.

An estimated 67,000 Jewish children (48 per cent of all children attending a Jewish school) were reported to be enrolled in either a yeshivah or a day school. Over half (35,000 or 52 per cent) of all yeshivah/day school enrollment was in Brooklyn, with another 9,000 (13 per cent) in Queens. The yeshivah/day school enrollment data are consistent with other reliable studies on pupil enrollment in the New York area.

An estimated 52,000 (37 per cent) children were enrolled in supplementary afternoon schools (Hebrew schools or talmud torahs), and another 22,000 (16 per cent) in Sunday schools. Over 70 per cent of the Sunday school enrollment was in the suburbs, reflecting the suburban strength of Reform temples, which were the major sponsors of Sunday schools. Afternoon school enrollments were evenly distributed between the suburbs and city. The reported supplementary school data appear to be somewhat higher than currently collected school enrollment figures. This apparent discrepancy might be explained by the inclusion by survey respondents of informal Jewish education, such as private tutoring, community center educational programs, and bar/bat mitzvah lessons.

The respondents were asked to indicate whether they had been exposed to one or another form of Jewish schooling when they were children. About two-thirds reported that they had received some formal Jewish education. Almost half of the total (46 per cent) went to Hebrew school or some other part-time institution. About one in nine (11 per cent) attended Sunday school. Another one in nine studied in yeshivah, day school, or other full-time Jewish educational institution (Table 3.5).

Because of the association of certain types of Jewish schools with particular denominations, it is not surprising that the geographic distribution of the alumni of the schools roughly paralleled the distribution of the self-designated members of the various denominations. Thus, the highest proportion of yeshivah/day school-trained respondents within a county—21 per cent—was found in Brooklyn, which contained the largest proportion of Orthodox Jews. The percentage having attended Hebrew school was fairly uniform in six of the counties, ranging between 43 per cent and 52 per cent; it was highest in Suffolk (55 per cent), and lowest in Brooklyn (37 per cent). Sunday school alumni percentages also varied across the eight counties.

Social science research has demonstrated the remarkable extent to which American Jews restrict their friendship choices to their own group. Jews, in fact, do so more than any other white ethnic group. Many Jews tend to concentrate in certain neighborhoods for economic, cultural, and ethnic reasons. Moreover, American Jews have distinctive patterns of educational attainment, occupational achievement, and income. As a result, when Jews look for friends or marriage partners within their neighborhoods, professional communities, or social circles, they often encounter other Jews, even if they have no special desire to do so.

In line with these considerations, a full 70 per cent of the respondents stated that their three closest friends were Jewish. (Data not shown.) The patterns of inter-county variation in the rate of in-group friendship paralleled the patterns of intermarriage discussed above. Brooklyn, the Bronx, Queens, and Nassau had both the lowest rates of intermarriage and the highest rates of in-group friendship; at least three-quarters (71 per cent to 82 per cent) of the respondents in each of these counties reported that their three closest friends were Jewish. Westchester, which had an intermediate rate of intermarriage, exhibited an intermediate rate of in-group friendship (63 per cent). Conversely, in the areas of recent Jewish settlement—Manhattan, Staten Island, and Suffolk—where there were higher than average rates of intermarriage, there were also lower rates of in-group friendship; in these areas, roughly half of the respondents (48–57 per cent) reported that their three closest friends were Jewish.

The survey questioned respondents about their Jewish newspaper reading habits. Over the entire region, three households in ten (32 per cent) received at least one Anglo-Jewish paper, with *Jewish Week* and *Jewish Press* being read in roughly equal proportions (15 per cent and 13 per cent). The extent of Jewish newspaper readership varied geographically. It was lowest in the three counties of most recent Jewish settlement—Staten Island (16 per cent), Manhattan (24 per cent), and Suffolk (26 per cent). Queens, Brooklyn, and Nassau had the highest percentages of Jewish newspaper readership. (Table 3.6)

Particularly since 1967, Israel has come to occupy a central place in the religious and ethnic identity of American Jews. This has prompted participation in several activities connected with the Jewish state. Among New York area adult Jews, 37 per cent had visited Israel at least once, while 15 per cent had been there at least

twice. Eighteen per cent of the respondents reported that they had considered settling in Israel.

Education, Occupation, and Income

Various studies have documented the extraordinary socio-economic success of American Jewry. Still, there are poor Jews. The educational attainment, employment, and income data presented below reveal the reality of many poor and working-class Jews existing in a community with remarkably high overall averages in the major dimensions of status attainment.

In the United States generally, one in six adults, aged 25 years or older, has completed four or more years of higher education. In contrast, more than half (see Table 4.1) of the New York area Jewish heads of households had done so. Among Jewish male heads of households, four per cent held medical or dental degrees, and three per cent had Ph.D.'s or Ed.D.'s. This was substantially higher than the national pattern.

There was considerable inter-county variation with regard to education. Thus, 36 per cent of the male heads of households in Manhattan had graduate degrees, while in the suburban counties, the figures ran from 26 per cent to 37 per cent. The proportions were lower in Staten Island (23 per cent), and Queens (19 per cent), and lowest in the Bronx (14 per cent) and Brooklyn (12 per cent). Conversely, the majority of men in Brooklyn, Queens, and the Bronx did not have college degrees; comparable proportions in the other counties were no greater than 39 per cent.

As is true of American women generally, Jewish women had slightly lower levels of education than their male counterparts. However, the educational attainment of New York Jewish women was significantly greater than that of other American women. The county variations in educational attainment were the same for women as for men.

Employment patterns reflected inter-county variations in age, family structure, and values. Table 4.2 reports employment figures as proportions of all adults. As shown in the table, 75 per cent of adult male heads of households and 37 per cent of adult female heads of households were employed full-time. Of this full-time employed group, two out of five males and one out of six females were self-employed, as compared with under seven per cent in the total national labor force. Self-employment among men was particularly high in Nassau and particularly low in Staten Island. Among women, the highest rates of self-employment were in Manhattan and Westchester.

Over a third of Jewish men in the Bronx were retired, as were more than one-fifth in Brooklyn and Queens. In the other counties, the male retirement rate was substantially lower.

Women displayed a different employment picture than men. Fourteen per cent of the women were employed part-time, as compared with four per cent of the men. A fourth of the women were full-time homemakers. The full-time employment rates

for women were fairly uniform (about 37 per cent), except for the high rate in Manhattan, where over half of Jewish women worked full-time. As might be expected, female retirement rates paralleled those of men, and reflected the age structure of women; they were highest in the Bronx, relatively high in Brooklyn, Queens, and Manhattan, and significantly lower in Staten Island and the suburban counties.

The income figures (Table 4.3) display many of the central themes already noted in this section. Overall, the Jewish median income of $34,000 far exceeded the national median (1980 census) of nearly $20,000. The highest median incomes were in Westchester and Nassau, and the lowest in Brooklyn. The data reveal large numbers of lower-income Jewish households; 27 per cent (196,000) of the households in the eight county area were earning under $20,000, while 11 per cent (83,000) were earning below $10,000. (Table 4.3A)

A useful way of looking at incomes is to divide the population into four groups of equal size, following the rank order of income, with the poorest people at the bottom, and the richest at the top. The first quartile figure is the income of the household that stands exactly one-fourth the way up the scale. The median is the middle of the distribution, where 50 per cent of the population have incomes equal to or less than the median household, and 50 per cent have more. The third quartile number is the income of the household which stands three-fourths the way up the scale; 75 per cent of the households have incomes at or below that figure, while 25 per cent have incomes higher than the figure.

Table 4.3B, reporting first quartile, median, and third quartile incomes, summarizes the income data and readily facilitates cross-county comparisons. The first quartile figures give some idea of the distribution of lower-income families. Brooklyn and the Bronx, with first quartile figures of $13,000 each, had the highest proportions of low-income households among the eight counties. The first quartile figures were highest in the three suburban counties; in Nassau, for example, the first quartile level reached $35,000, a figure in excess of the eight-county median.

The third quartile figures indicate the distribution of affluent Jews. Two of the three suburban counties—Westchester and Nassau—reported the highest third quartiles; at least a quarter of all Jewish households in these counties earned incomes of more than $60,000. Manhattan and Suffolk were close behind; third quartiles in these counties were about $50,000. At the other end of the spectrum were Brooklyn and the Bronx, in which the top quarter of the income distributions were $35,000. Queens and Staten Island had relatively few households at either end of the income distribution spectrum; they were disproportionately middle income.

The sizable number of households earning under $10,000 suggests that a large number of Jews were living at or near the poverty line. The extent to which these Jews were suffering economic deprivation was, of course, partly dependent on the size of their families. Table 4.4 (A and B) presents the distribution of income within household size categories, first in absolute numbers and then in percentages. Low-income households tended to be small households. Almost 24 per cent of single-person households earned under $10,000, as against 10 per cent of two-person

households, and five to six per cent of larger households. There were 25,900 two-person households earning $10,000 or less. In addition, 14,900 households of three or more persons earned less than $10,000. Another 27,700 households of three or more persons earned less than $20,000.

In general, over four-fifths of three-or-more person households earned at least $20,000 (the approximate national median), and almost half earned over $40,000. In contrast, only about half of the single-person households earned over $20,000, and only 12 per cent earned over $40,000. Part of the reason for the higher incomes of the larger households was that some contained two wage earners, many of whom were approaching their peak earning potential.

Neighborhoods

Table 5.1 reports on length of neighborhood residence within each of the eight counties. There were considerable variations with regard to neighborhood newcomers (those resident five years or less) and neighborhood veterans (those resident 16 years or more). Newcomers were most in evidence in Staten Island, Manhattan, and Suffolk. The Bronx contained the smallest group of newcomers, only 15 per cent. About half of the Jews in Queens and Brooklyn had lived in their neighborhoods for at least 16 years. Somewhat smaller proportions of veterans—about two-fifths —were found in the Bronx, Nassau, and Westchester. The smallest proportions of long-term Jewish residents were found in Staten Island (nine per cent) and Suffolk (14 per cent).

Almost a third of the area's Jews resided in single-family homes (data not shown). Nearly half of New York's Jewish households owned the house or cooperative apartment in which they lived. Again, there was substantial variation between counties. Both Manhattan and the Bronx consisted almost entirely of apartment dwellers. On the other hand, Nassau, Suffolk, and Staten Island had few multiple-dwelling unit households. Westchester had a substantial minority (34 per cent) of apartment dwellers, while slim majorities in Brooklyn and Queens lived in apartments. The three suburban counties and Staten Island contained majorities living in one-family homes. Between a quarter and a third of the Jews in Staten Island and Brooklyn lived in two-family homes, a pattern undoubtedly reflecting their more modest economic means.

The inter-county variations in monthly housing costs probably reflected several factors, including differentials in income, large discrepancies in costs between owners and renters (owners spent about 50 per cent more on their dwellings every month), and differences in time of home purchase or in-migration. Average monthly, county housing costs among owners (data not shown) were highest in the three suburban counties and Manhattan (over $700), and lowest in the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Queens (between $390 and $480). Staten Island showed a figure of $550 in owners' costs. Interestingly, there was relatively little inter-county variation in average renters' costs, which ranged from the mid-$300's in Brooklyn, the Bronx, and Staten Island, to $500 or more in Manhattan and Nassau.

Table 5.2 presents the reactions of heads of households to questions about neighborhood safety and cleanliness. In all, about one-fourth of the sample reported that they were very satisfied with the safety and cleanliness of their streets. As would be expected, suburbanites registered the highest proportions of very satisfied householders; they were followed at some distance by residents of Staten Island and Queens. Inhabitants of the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Manhattan expressed the lowest rates of satisfaction.

The suburban residents overwhelmingly expected their neighborhoods not to change for the worse (Table 5.3). A large fraction of householders in Queens, Brooklyn, and the Bronx expected conditions to worsen, with Bronx residents being particularly concerned about the future. Two-fifths of Manhattan residents expected conditions to improve.

While clean and safe streets are of concern to all residents of a community, certain specifically Jewish neighborhood characteristics interest Jewish families. The respondents were asked whether these Jewish attributes of neighborhoods were very important, somewhat important, or not important, in making a neighborhood attractive to themselves and their households. Over half of the people interviewed said that a sizeable number of Jews in a neighborhood was a very important factor, and another 30 per cent said that it was somewhat important. Jews in Brooklyn, the Bronx, and Queens were most desirous of a sizeable number of Jews in a neighborhood. They were followed by the three suburban counties and Staten Island. Manhattan had by far the smallest proportion of individuals expressing a preference for Jewish neighbors. Living near a synagogue had a similar rank order by county, though the proportions calling it very important and somewhat important were smaller. Still fewer Jews found living near a Jewish "Y" or a community center very or somewhat important, though here too the rank order by county remained the same.

When asked if they were looking for a new place to live, 21 per cent of Bronx residents said yes, while in the other counties the proportions responding affirmatively ranged from 10 per cent to 14 per cent (data not shown). Fully 37 per cent of Jews in the Bronx did not expect to be residing in the same neighborhood three years into the future, as compared with 18 per cent to 26 per cent of Jews in the other counties.

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TABLE 2.3A HOUSEHOLD TYPES, IN ABSOLUTE NUMBERS

Household Type	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total*
Young single	4,300	20,500	54,500	17,700	300	8,000	2,300	3,200	110,800
Young couple	3,400	14,700	19,100	12,600	1,300	6,700	3,300	4,200	65,300
Two-parent family	7,500	46,500	21,000	33,100	6,000	53,500	21,800	18,600	208,000
Single-parent family	1,200	7,400	4,700	5,700	400	4,600	1,700	1,600	27,300
Mature couple	14,500	45,700	25,300	45,700	1,300	30,100	4,100	12,500	179,200
Mature single	11,500	30,400	33,200	19,200	800	4,100	1,200	4,400	104,800
Total	42,400	165,200	157,800	134,000	10,100	107,000	34,400	44,500	695,400

Key:
Young single—not married, under 45 years of age.
Young couple—married, no children, under 45 years of age.
Two-parent family—married, children at home, any age.
Single-parent family—not married, children at home, any age.
Mature couple—married, no children at home, 45 years of age or older.
Mature single—not married, 45 years of age or older.
*Non-responses are excluded. As a result, totals are slightly below those in Table 2.1.

TABLE 1.1 ESTIMATES OF JEWISH POPULATION

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	New York City Subtotals	Suburban Subtotals	Total
All persons (U.S. census)	1,169,100	2,230,900	1,427,500	1,891,300	352,100	1,321,600	1,284,200	866,600	7,070,900	3,472,400	10,543,300
Total number of Jewish persons*	95,800	412,900	276,300	317,100	31,000	308,300	106,200	123,100	1,133,100	537,600	1,670,700
Jewish persons as per cent of all persons	8	19	19	17	9	23	8	14	16	15	16
County's per cent of total of eight-county Jewish persons	6	25	17	19	2	18	6	7	68	32	100

*Includes Jewish persons in households and group quarters

TABLE 2.1 JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
Total number of Jewish households	45,100	166,200	157,900	134,500	10,200	107,000	34,400	44,500	699,800
Average number of persons in Jewish households	2.14	2.52	1.88	2.42	3.25	3.09	3.38	2.84	2.49
Total number of persons in Jewish households	96,500	418,800	296,900	325,500	33,200	330,600	116,300	126,400	1,742,500
Average number of Jews in Jewish households	2.08	2.46	1.70	2.33	2.97	2.84	3.01	2.69	2.35
Total number of Jews in Jewish households	93,700	409,100	267,800	313,700	30,300	304,300	103,700	119,700	1,642,300

TABLE 2.2 JEWISH HOUSEHOLDS AND ALL HOUSEHOLDS

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	New York City Subtotals	Suburban Subtotals	Total
All households (U.S. census)	429,200	828,300	704,300	712,000	114,600	423,400	385,700	307,500	2,788,400	1,116,600	3,905,000
Jewish households	45,100	166,200	157,900	134,500	10,200	107,000	34,400	44,500	513,900	185,900	699,800
Jewish households as per cent of all households	11	20	22	19	9	25	9	14	18	17	18
County's per cent of eight-county total of Jewish households	6	24	23	19	1	16	5	6	73	27	100

TABLE 2.3B HOUSEHOLD TYPES, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

Household Type	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
Young single	10	12	35	13	3	8	7	7	16
Young couple	8	9	12	9	13	6	10	9	9
Two-parent family	18	28	13	25	59	50	63	42	30
Single-parent family	3	5	3	4	4	4	5	4	4
Mature couple	34	28	16	35	13	28	12	28	26
Mature single	27	18	21	14	8	4	3	10	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 2.4 MARITAL STATUS CHARACTERISTICS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

Current Status	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
Never married	12	12	33	12	3	6	4	6	15
Married	61	66	41	69	85	85	85	79	66
Divorced	3	4	13	5	5	4	7	4	6
Separated	1	3	2	2	1	1	1	1	2
Widowed	23	15	11	12	6	4	3	10	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Percentages of Those Ever Married	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
Per cent ever divorced	9	11	32	13	14	13	16	12	16
Per cent ever widowed	29	21	20	17	6	6	5	15	17

TABLE 2.5 DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN

Household Type	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
Total number of Jewish households	42,500	165,200	157,900	134,000	10,100	107,000	34,400	44,500	695,600
Number of households with children	8,700	53,900	25,800	38,800	6,300	58,100	23,500	20,200	235,300
As per cent of all households	20	33	16	29	62	54	68	45	34
Households with children									
Per cent with 1 child	49	40	56	47	30	39	28	30	41
Per cent with 2 children	45	41	35	35	43	39	47	55	41
Per cent with 3 or more children	6	19	9	18	27	22	25	15	18
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 2.6 COMPARISON OF POPULATION BY AGE CATEGORY, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

Ages	Total U.S. (Census)	Eight-County Area (Census)	Total Eight-County New York Area Jews Per Population Study
0–14	23	21	16
15–54	56	56	55
55+	21	23	29
Total	100	100	100

TABLE 2.8 GENERATION OF ADULT RESPONDENTS, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
First	22	29	16	19	13	4	6	8	17
Second	59	51	41	53	43	55	38	47	49
Third	19	20	43	28	44	41	56	45	34
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Key:
First—foreign born.
Second—U.S. (or Canadian) born, foreign born parents.
Third—U.S. (or Canadian) born of U.S. (or Canadian) born parents.

TABLE 2.7A AGE DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH PERSONS, NUMBER OF PERSONS

Ages	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total*
0–4	2,700	21,800	9,200	8,300	2,500	14,700	6,500	5,200	70,900
5–9	1,700	27,000	5,600	8,800	2,700	17,400	11,800	6,900	81,900
10–14	2,500	20,400	11,000	16,400	3,200	24,400	13,700	11,700	103,300
15–19	4,000	17,800	12,100	18,800	3,100	33,600	12,600	10,700	112,700
20–24	5,700	28,600	25,200	23,400	1,700	28,200	4,300	4,600	121,700
25–34	9,100	65,700	58,800	39,100	5,000	35,400	15,100	14,500	242,700
35–44	4,900	26,500	44,900	24,400	5,400	39,800	22,000	17,800	185,700
45–54	11,300	45,700	26,700	39,800	2,600	52,700	12,600	17,000	208,400
55–64	14,000	52,400	30,600	59,900	1,800	52,400	5,900	19,100	236,100
65–74	14,800	49,900	28,000	37,600	1,000	8,800	2,100	6,600	148,800
75+	10,400	23,100	18,300	19,300	600	4,200	800	2,000	78,700
Total	81,100	378,900	270,400	295,800	29,600	311,600	107,400	116,100	1,590,900

*Non-responses excluded. Totals are less than those in Table 2.1

TABLE 2.7B AGE DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH PERSONS, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

Ages	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
0–4	3	6	3	3	8	5	6	4	4
5–9	2	7	2	3	9	6	11	6	5
10–14	3	5	4	6	11	8	13	10	7
15–19	5	5	5	6	11	10	12	9	7
20–24	7	8	9	8	6	9	4	4	8
25–34	11	17	22	13	17	11	14	12	15
35–44	6	7	17	8	18	13	20	15	12
45–54	14	12	10	13	9	17	12	15	13
55–64	17	14	11	20	6	17	5	17	15
65–74	19	13	10	13	3	3	2	6	9
75+	13	6	7	7	2	1	1	2	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 3.1 RITUAL PRACTICES IN THE HOUSEHOLD, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
Attends a Seder	88	91	83	90	88	93	92	96	89
Lights Hanukkah candles	81	81	57	80	85	83	83	81	76
Has *mezuzah* on front door	78	83	44	75	74	78	72	69	70
Fasts on Yom Kippur	72	74	53	72	72	70	72	64	67
Lights Sabbath candles	41	54	21	41	33	32	27	35	37
Buys only kosher meat	52	59	17	44	34	23	17	20	36
Uses two sets of dishes	39	50	16	36	33	15	17	19	30
Handles no money on Sabbath	16	24	8	14	10	4	3	4	12

TABLE 3.2 RELIGIOUS SERVICE ATTENDANCE OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS AND SPOUSES, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

Men	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
Never	24	23	42	30	34	28	35	22	30
High holy days only	31	29	23	25	24	26	22	24	25
Few times per year	23	18	17	20	18	30	24	29	22
1–3 times per month	6	5	8	8	8	10	14	19	9
Weekly	9	10	5	10	9	4	4	4	7
2 or more times per week	7	15	5	7	7	2	1	2	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Women	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
Never	32	22	44	28	38	25	35	26	30
High holy days only	31	33	23	30	25	29	20	24	28
Few times per year	21	25	17	22	17	30	25	29	24
1–3 times per month	9	9	10	9	11	11	15	16	10
Weekly	6	9	6	10	8	3	4	5	7
2 or more times per week	1	2	*	1	1	2	1	*	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*Less than 0.5 per cent.

TABLE 3.3 DENOMINATIONAL SELF-IDENTIFICATION OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
Orthodox	20	27	8	12	11	3	2	5	13
Conservative	38	35	23	48	40	37	41	36	35
Reform	23	22	28	22	28	43	37	42	29
Other*	19	16	41	18	21	17	20	17	23
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*Includes those who do not identify with specific religious movements but define themselves as ethnically or culturally Jewish.

TABLE 3.4 PHILANTHROPIC GIVING, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
UJA-Federation Campaign									
$26–$299	16	16	17	21	23	20	18	23	19
$300+	3	1	8	7	3	11	5	15	7
Other Jewish causes*									
$26–$299	36	30	24	33	37	33	32	36	31
$300+	10	13	18	20	15	18	14	26	17
Non-sectarian causes									
$26–$299	42	35	31	36	39	36	44	29	35
$300+	16	20	34	29	30	31	26	44	28

*Does not include synagogue membership fees and contributions.

TABLE 3.5 JEWISH SCHOOLING OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD AS A CHILD, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
Yeshivah or day school	11	21	9	11	13	4	6	4	11
Hebrew school	49	37	43	49	49	52	55	49	46
Sunday school	8	6	18	7	11	14	11	18	11
Other	5	7	5	7	4	4	3	3	6
None	27	29	25	26	23	26	25	26	26
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 3.6 OTHER MEASURES OF JEWISH IDENTIFICATION

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
Reads at least one Jewish newspaper	31	40	24	38	16	32	26	31	32
Visited Israel at least once	33	39	44	39	21	31	16	39	37
Considered settling in Israel	15	21	20	20	14	10	15	8	18

TABLE 4.1 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS AND SPOUSES, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

Men	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
High school (graduate or less)	41	44	12	35	24	17	13	13	26
Some college	15	15	13	16	15	16	23	11	15
Bachelor's degree	30	29	39	30	38	41	33	39	35
Graduate degree	14	12	36	19	23	26	31	37	24
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Women	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
High school (graduate or less)	51	51	16	45	33	22	26	22	34
Some college	18	19	15	19	28	23	25	14	19
Bachelor's degree	19	21	40	24	23	35	26	38	29
Graduate degree	12	9	29	12	16	20	23	26	18
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 4.2 EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

Men	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
Self-employed full-time	18	23	31	25	22	47	34	34	30
Other full-time	39	41	47	44	64	44	56	55	45
Part-time	4	5	6	4	1	1	2	1	4
Retired	35	25	11	21	8	5	6	7	16
Other*	4	6	5	6	5	3	2	3	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Women	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
Self-employed full-time	3	3	11	4	3	4	6	8	5
Other full-time	27	28	40	32	36	31	33	28	32
Part-time	12	10	11	11	19	21	16	21	14
Homemaker	16	30	14	27	28	34	34	28	26
Retired	32	23	18	19	8	6	6	10	17
Other*	10	6	6	7	6	4	5	5	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

*The "other" category includes student, unemployed, and disabled.

Note: The employment categories are treated as mutually exclusive. They are also ranked as to participation in the labor force.

TABLE 4.3A HOUSEHOLD INCOMES, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

Income Category	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
Under $10,000	18	20	9	13	7	4	5	3	11
10,000–19,999	17	28	15	14	16	4	13	11	16
20,000–29,999	32	20	18	24	20	14	19	13	20
30,000–39,999	16	15	15	21	26	15	20	11	17
40,000–49,999	10	14	17	17	26	19	21	17	16
50,000–59,999	3	2	4	5	3	17	8	11	6
60,000+	4	1	22	6	2	27	14	34	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 4.3B FIRST QUARTILE, MEDIAN, AND THIRD QUARTILE HOUSEHOLD INCOMES, IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
First quartile	$13	$13	$22	$18	$23	$35	$25	$27	$18
Median	25	22	35	28	34	50	35	50	34
Third quartile	35	35	52	43	43	61	50	70	50

Note: The first quartile figure is the income of the household that stands at exactly one-fourth up the ladder. That is, 25 per cent of the population have incomes at or below the first quartile figure. The median is the middle of the distribution where 50 per cent of the population have incomes equal to or less than the median household and 50 per cent have more. The third quartile number is the income of the household which is three-fourths up the scale such that 75 per cent of the households have incomes at or below that figure and 25 per cent have incomes higher than that figure.

TABLE 4.4A INCOME BY SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD, NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS

Income Category	Size of Household 1	2	3–4	5+	Total
Under $10,000	38,700	25,900	11,800	3,100	79,500
10,000–19,999	42,800	38,800	21,600	6,100	109,300
20,000–39,999	58,100	96,400	77,300	20,100	251,900
40,000+	19,500	104,800	104,300	25,600	254,200
Total	159,100	265,900	215,000	54,900	694,900

TABLE 4.4B INCOME BY SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

Income Category	Size of Household 1	2	3–4	5+	Total
Under $10,000	24	10	5	[illegible]	11
10,000–19,999	27	15	10	[illegible]	16
20,000–39,999	37	36	36	37	36
40,000+	12	39	49	46	37
Total	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 5.1 LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN NEIGHBORHOOD, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
0–5 years	15	22	37	23	47	27	32	21	27
6–15 years	42	30	32	25	44	32	54	40	32
16 or more years	43	48	31	52	9	41	14	39	41
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 5.2 NEIGHBORHOOD EVALUATION AND CRITERIA, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL, VERY SATISFIED

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
Safety	10	10	17	16	30	46	47	53	23
Cleanliness	18	14	11	25	30	60	59	58	28

TABLE 5.3 WHAT RESPONDENTS EXPECT THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS TO BE LIKE THREE YEARS HENCE, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
Better	7	12	40	9	18	17	21	9	19
Same	46	58	47	65	72	76	72	78	61
Worse	47	30	13	26	10	7	7	13	20
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE 5.4 WHAT RESPONDENTS LOOK FOR IN CHOOSING A NEIGHBORHOOD, PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL, VERY IMPORTANT

	Bronx	Brooklyn	Manhattan	Queens	Staten Island	Nassau	Suffolk	West-chester	Total
Sizeable number of Jews	68	70	32	61	50	49	40	48	53
Near synagogue	49	55	23	44	43	35	32	38	39
Near YMHA	28	27	11	23	23	9	21	16	19

Demographic

Jewish Population in the United States, 1983

THE JEWISH POPULATION in the United States in 1983 is estimated to be 5.728 million.

Because community estimates are derived by establishing the number of households (identified through a Jewish member), and then multiplying this number by an average size of household figure, the resulting estimates—as well as the national total—include non-Jews. The 1970 National Jewish Population Study (NJPS) found the proportion of non-Jews to be seven per cent of the total number of individuals in households containing at least one Jewish member. If seven per cent is assumed for the current national total, (and a recent New York City survey supports this assumption), the number of individuals in 1983 who identify themselves as Jewish would be 5.327 million.

The state and regional totals shown in Table 1 and Table 2 are derived by summing individual community estimates, shown in Table 3, and then making three adjustments. First, communities of less than 100 are added. Second, duplications within states (e.g. Los Angeles includes a portion of Ventura County as part of its total) are eliminated. Third, communities falling within two or more states (e.g. Washington, D.C. and Kansas City, Missouri) are distributed accordingly.

The largest proportion of Jews (two-thirds) still resides in the Northeast and the North Central states. However, a shift to the South and West, following general population trends, is evident. Table A indicates that the proportion of the total Jewish population residing in the Northeast and the North Central states declined from 72.7 per cent in 1974 to 66.1 per cent in 1983. Concomitantly, the South and West showed an increase from 27.3 per cent to 34.0 per cent. Since the size of the Jewish population in the United States has been at a plateau for the past decade, these proportionate shifts involve a shift in actual numbers as well.

TABLE A. DISTRIBUTION OF U.S. JEWISH POPULATION AND TOTAL POPULATION, BY REGIONS, 1983, 1974

	Total Population		*Jewish Population*	
Region	*1983*	*1974*	*1983*	*1974*
Northeast:	21.4	23.5	54.1	60.1
New England	5.4	5.8	6.9	7.1
Middle Atlantic	16.0	17.7	47.2	53.0
North Central:	25.5	27.4	12.0	12.6
East North Central	18.0	19.5	9.4	10.1
West North Central	7.5	7.9	2.6	2.4
South:	33.8	31.6	17.4	14.1
South Atlantic	16.5	15.6	14.8	11.8
East South Central	6.4	6.3	0.8	0.7
West South Central	10.9	9.7	1.8	1.6
West:	19.4	17.5	16.6	13.2
Mountain	5.2	4.4	2.1	1.1
Pacific	14.2	13.1	14.5	12.1
TOTALS:	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

N.B. Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

ALVIN CHENKIN

APPENDIX

TABLE 1. JEWISH POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES, 1983

State	Estimated Jewish Population	Total Population*	Estimated Jewish Per Cent Of Total
Alabama	9,160	3,943,000	0.2
Alaska	960	438,000	0.2
Arizona	49,285	2,860,000	1.7
Arkansas	2,885	2,291,000	0.1
California	789,260	24,724,000	3.2
Colorado	41,765	3,045,000	1.4
Connecticut	108,575	3,153,000	3.4
Delaware	9,500	602,000	1.6
District of Columbia	30,000	631,000	4.8
Florida	479,180	10,416,000	4.6
Georgia	40,855	5,639,000	0.7
Hawaii	5,775	994,000	0.6
Idaho	505	965,000	0.1
Illinois	261,985	11,448,000	2.3
Indiana	21,360	5,471,000	0.4
Iowa	7,395	2,905,000	0.3
Kansas	11,960	2,408,000	0.5
Kentucky	12,685	3,667,000	0.4
Louisiana	17,925	4,362,000	0.4
Maine	8,185	1,133,000	0.7
Maryland	199,915	4,265,000	4.7
Massachusetts	249,045	5,781,000	4.3
Michigan	86,635	9,109,000	1.0
Minnesota	32,040	4,133,000	0.8
Mississippi	3,080	2,551,000	0.1
Missouri	85,235	4,951,000	1.7
Montana	640	801,000	0.1
Nebraska	7,850	1,586,000	0.5
Nevada	18,200	881,000	2.1
New Hampshire	5,880	951,000	0.6
New Jersey	425,180	7,438,000	5.7
New Mexico	5,305	1,359,000	0.4
New York	1,869,190	17,659,000	10.6

State	Estimated Jewish Population	Total Population*	Estimated Jewish Per Cent Of Total
North Carolina	15,145	6,019,000	0.3
North Dakota	1,085	670,000	0.2
Ohio	137,785	10,791,000	1.3
Oklahoma	7,160	3,177,000	0.2
Oregon	11,940	2,649,000	0.5
Pennsylvania	408,475	11,865,000	3.4
Rhode Island	22,000	958,000	2.3
South Carolina	9,060	3,203,000	0.3
South Dakota	605	691,000	0.1
Tennessee	18,100	4,651,000	0.4
Texas	77,110	15,280,000	0.5
Utah	2,600	1,554,000	0.2
Vermont	2,465	516,000	0.5
Virginia	59,265	5,491,000	1.1
Washington	21,985	4,245,000	0.5
West Virginia	4,295	1,948,000	0.2
Wisconsin	31,295	4,765,000	0.7
Wyoming	310	502,000	0.1
U.S. TOTAL	5,728,075**	231,534,000	2.5

N.B. Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

*Resident population, July 1, 1982, Provisional. (Source: *Provisional Estimates of the Population of States: July 1, 1982,* Bureau of the Census, Series P-25, No. 930, issued April 1983.)

**Exclusive of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, which reported Jewish populations of 1,800 and 510, respectively.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF U.S. JEWISH POPULATION BY REGIONS, 1983

Region	*Total Population*	*Per Cent Distribution*	*Jewish Population*	*Per Cent Distribution*
Northeast:	49,456,000	21.4	3,098,995	54.1
New England	12,493,000	5.4	396,150	6.9
Middle Atlantic	36,963,000	16.0	2,702,845	47.2
North Central:	58,927,000	25.5	685,230	12.0
East North Central	41,585,000	18.0	539,060	9.4
West North Central	17,342,000	7.5	146,170	2.6
South:	78,136,000	33.8	995,320	17.4
South Atlantic	38,213,000	16.5	847,215	14.8
East South Central	14,812,000	6.4	43,025	0.8
West South Central	25,111,000	10.9	105,080	1.8
West:	45,015,000	19.4	948,530	16.6
Mountain	11,967,000	5.2	118,610	2.1
Pacific	33,049,000	14.2	829,920	14.5
TOTALS	231,534,000	100.0	5,728,075	100.0

N.B. Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

TABLE 3. COMMUNITIES WITH JEWISH POPULATIONS OF 100 OR MORE, 1983 (ESTIMATED)

State and City	Jewish Population
ALABAMA	
Anniston	100
**Birmingham	4,100
Dothan	205
Gadsden	180
Huntsville	550
*Mobile	1,250
**Montgomery	1,800
Selma	210
Tri-Cities[a]	150
Tuscaloosa	315
ALASKA	
Anchorage	600
Fairbanks	210
ARIZONA	
**Phoenix	32,000
**Tucson	17,000
ARKANSAS	
Fayetteville	120
Ft. Smith	160
Hot Springs (incl. in Little Rock)	
*Little Rock	1,600
Pine Bluff	175
Southeast Arkansas[b]	140
Wynne-Forest City	110
CALIFORNIA	
*Alameda & Contra Costa Counties	28,000
Antelope Valley	375
Bakersfield (incl. in Kern County)	
El Centro	125
Elsinore	250
Eureka	250
Fontana	165
Fresno	2,500
Kern County	850
Lancaster (incl. in Antelope Valley)	
*Long Beach	13,500
*Los Angeles Metropolitan Area	500,870
Merced	100
Modesto	260
Monterey	1,500
Oakland (incl. in Alameda & Contra Costa Counties)	
Ontario (incl. in Pomona Valley)	
**Orange County	60,000
*Palm Springs	4,950
Pasadena (also incl. in Los Angeles Metropolitan Area)	2,000
Petaluma	800
Pomona Valley[c]	3,500
Riverside	1,200
*Sacramento	7,000
Salinas	350
San Bernardino	1,900
**San Diego	34,000
**San Francisco	80,000
*San Jose	25,000
San Luis Obispo	450
San Pedro	300
Santa Barbara	3,800
Santa Cruz	1,000
Santa Maria	200
Santa Monica	8,000
Santa Rosa	750
**Stockton	1,300
Sun City	800
Tulare & Kings County (incl. in Fresno)	
Vallejo	400
**Ventura County	6,000
COLORADO	
Colorado Springs	1,000
**Denver	40,000
Pueblo	375
CONNECTICUT	
**Bridgeport	20,000
Bristol	250
Colchester	525
*Danbury (incl. New Milford)	3,500
**Greenwich	4,000
**Hartford (incl. New Britain)	26,000
Lebanon	175
Lower Middlesex County (incl. in New London)[d]	
Manchester (incl. in Hartford)	
Meriden	1,400
Middletown	1,300
Milford (incl. in New Haven)	
Moodus	150
**New Haven	22,000
*New London	3,500
Newtown (incl. in Danbury)	
Norwalk	4,000
Norwich	2,500
Putnam	110
Rockville (incl. in Hartford)	
*Stamford	12,000
Torrington	450
Valley Area[e]	700
Wallingford	440

State and City	Jewish Population
*Waterbury	2,800
Westport	2,800
Willimantic	400
Winsted	110
DELAWARE	
*Wilmington (incl. rest of state)	9,500
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA	
*Greater Washington[f]	160,000
FLORIDA	
*Boca Raton-Delray	15,000
Brevard County	2,250
*Daytona Beach	2,000
*Fort Lauderdale	80,000
Fort Myers	300
Fort Pierce	270
Gainesville	1,000
*Hollywood	55,000
*Jacksonville	7,200
Key West	170
Lakeland	800
Lehigh Acres	125
**Miami	253,340
*Orlando	15,000
*Palm Beach County (excl. Boca Raton)	45,000
Pensaccla	725
Port Charlotte	150
**Sarasota	7,500
St. Augustine	100
*St. Petersburg (incl. Clearwater)	9,000
Tallahassee	1,000
**Tampa	11,500
GEORGIA	
Albany	525
Athens	250
**Atlanta	32,000
Augusta	1,500
Brunswick	120
Columbus	1,000
Dalton	235
Fitzgerald-Cordele	125
Macon	900
*Savannah	2,600
Valdosta	145
HAWAII	
Hilo	100
Honolulu	5,000
**Kona	150
Kuaii	100
Maui	200
IDAHO	
*Boise	120
ILLINOIS	
Aurora	400
Bloomington	125
Champaign-Urbana	2,000
**Chicago Metropolitan Area	248,000
Danville	240
*Decatur	350
East St. Louis (incl. in So. Ill.)	
Elgin	830
Galesburg (incl. in Peoria)	
*Joliet	800
Kankakee	260
*Peoria	1,900
*Quad Cities[g]	1,800
Quincy	200
Rock Island (incl. in Quad Cities)	
*Rockford	975
*Southern Illinois[h]	950
*Springfield	1,250
Sterling-Dixon	110
Waukegan	1,200
INDIANA	
Anderson	105
Bloomington	300
Elkhart (incl. in South Bend)	
Evansville	1,200
**Ft. Wayne	1,200
Gary (incl. in Northwest Indiana-Calumet Region)	
**Indianapolis	10,000
*Lafayette	600
Marion	170
Michigan City	425
Muncie	175
**Northwest Indiana-Calumet Region[i]	4,000
Richmond	110
Shelbyville	140
*South Bend	1,900
Terre Haute	450
IOWA	
Cedar Rapids	330
Council Bluffs	245
Davenport (incl. in Quad Cities, Ill.)	
*Des Moines	3,500
Dubuque	105
Fort Dodge	115
Iowa City	750
Mason City	110
Muscatine	120
Ottumwa	150
**Sioux City	770
Waterloo	450
KANSAS	
Topeka	500
**Wichita	1,000
KENTUCKY	
**Lexington	2,500

State and City	Jewish Population
*Louisville	9,200
Paducah	175
LOUISIANA	
Alexandria	700
**Baton Rouge	1,200
Lafayette	600
Lake Charles	250
Monroe	550
**New Orleans	12,000
**Shreveport	1,800
MAINE	
Augusta	215
**Bangor	1,400
Southern Maine (excl. Portland)	950
Calais	135
**Lewiston-Auburn	735
**Portland	4,000
Waterville	300
MARYLAND	
Annapolis	2,000
*Baltimore	92,000
Cumberland	265
Easton Park Area[j]	100
Frederick	400
Hagerstown	275
Hartford County	500
Howard County	4,000
Montgomery and Prince Georges County[f]	100,000
Salisbury	300
MASSACHUSETTS	
Amherst	750
Athol	110
Attleboro	200
Beverly	1,000
*Boston (incl. Brockton)	170,000
Fall River	1,780
Fitchburg	300
**Framingham	10,000
Gardner	100
Gloucester	400
Great Barrington	105
Greenfield	250
Haverhill	1,650
Holyoke	1,100
Hyannis	1,200
Lawrence	2,550
*Leominster	750
Lowell	2,000
*Lynn (incl. Beverly, Peabody, and Salem)	19,000
Medway (incl. in Framingham)	
Milford (incl. in Framingham)	
Mills (incl. in Framingham)	
**New Bedford	2,655
Newburyport	280
North Berkshire	675
Northampton	700
Peabody	2,600
*Pittsfield (incl. all Berkshire County)	3,500
Plymouth	500
Salem	1,150
Southbridge	105
*Springfield	11,250
Taunton	1,200
Webster	125
*Worcester	10,000
MICHIGAN	
Ann Arbor (incl. all Washtenaw County)	3,000
Battle Creek	245
Bay City	650
Benton Harbor	650
*Detroit	70,000
**Flint	2,380
Grand Rapids	1,500
Iron County	160
Iron Mountain	105
Jackson	375
**Kalamazoo	1,700
Lansing	1,800
Marquette County	175
Mt. Clemens	420
Mt. Pleasant	100
Muskegon	235
**Saginaw	450
South Haven	100
MINNESOTA	
Austin	125
*Duluth	900
Hibbing	155
*Minneapolis	22,000
Rochester	240
**St. Paul	7,500
Virginia	100
MISSISSIPPI	
Biloxi-Gulfport	100
Clarksdale	160
Cleveland	180
Greenville	500
Greenwood	100
Hattiesburg	180
Jackson	650
Meridian	135
Natchez	140
Vicksburg	260
MISSOURI	
Columbia	350
Joplin	115
*Kansas City	20,000
Kennett	110
Springfield	230
St. Joseph	430
*St. Louis	53,500
MONTANA	
Billings	160

State and City	Jewish Population
NEBRASKA	
*Lincoln	750
*Omaha	6,500
NEVADA	
**Las Vegas	17,000
Reno	1,200
NEW HAMPSHIRE	
Claremont	130
Concord	350
Dover	425
Keene	105
Laconia	150
**Manchester	3,000
Nashua	450
Portsmouth	1,000
NEW JERSEY	
*Atlantic City (incl. Atlantic County)	12,000
Bayonne	5,500
Bergen County[k]	100,000
Bridgeton	375
*Camden[l]	28,000
Carteret	300
Elizabeth (incl. in Union County)	
*Englewood (also incl. in Bergen County)	9,300
*Essex County[m]	95,000
Flemington	875
Gloucester County[n]	165
Hoboken	350
*Jersey City	3,500
Metuchen (incl. in North Middlesex County)	
Millville	240
**Monmouth County	33,600
Morris-Sussex Counties[o]	16,000
Morristown (incl. in Morris County)	
Mt. Holly	300
Newark (incl. in Essex County)	
New Brunswick (incl. in Raritan Valley)	
North Hudson County[p]	7,000
*North Jersey[q]	32,500
Northern Middlesex County[r]	22,000
Ocean County	8,100
*Passaic-Clifton	7,500
Paterson (incl. in North Jersey)	
Perth Amboy (incl. in North Middlesex County)	
Plainfield (incl. in Union County)	
Princeton	2,600
*Raritan Valley[s]	22,500
Salem	230
**Somerset County[t]	4,100
Somerville (incl. in Somerset County)	
Toms River (incl. in Ocean County)	
Trenton[u]	8,500
**Union County	32,000
**Vineland[v]	2,750
Wildwood	425
Willingboro (incl. in Camden)	
NEW MEXICO	
*Albuquerque	4,500
Las Cruces	100
Santa Fe	300
NEW YORK	
**Albany	12,000
Amenia	140
Amsterdam	595
Auburn	315
Batavia	165
Beacon	315
**Binghamton (incl. all Broome County)	3,000
Brewster (incl. in Danbury, Ct.)	300
**Buffalo	18,500
Canandaigua	135
Catskill	200
Corning	125
Cortland	440
Dunkirk	150
Ellenville	1,450
*Elmira	1,100
Geneva	300
**Glens Falls	1,200
Gloversville	535
Herkimer	185
Highland Falls	105
Hudson	470
Ithaca	1,000
Jamestown	185
*Kingston	3,000
Liberty	2,100
Loch Sheldrake-Hurleyville	750
Monroe	400
Monticello	2,400
Mountaindale	150
New York City Metropolitan Area	1,734,800
New Paltz	150
Newark	220
*Newburgh-Middletown	4,900
**Niagara Falls	600
Norwich	120
Olean	140
Oneonta	175
Oswego	100
Parksville	140
Pawling	105

State and City	Jewish Population
Plattsburg	275
Port Jervis	560
Potsdam	175
Poughkeepsie	4,900
*Rochester	19,600
Rockland County	25,000
Rome	205
Saratoga Springs	500
*Schenectady	5,400
Sharon Springs	165
South Fallsburg	1,100
*Syracuse	9,000
Troy	1,200
*Utica	2,250
Walden (incl. in Newburg-Middletown)	
Warwick	100
Watertown	250
White Lake	425
Woodbourne	200
Woodridge	300
NORTH CAROLINA	
Asheville	1,000
**Chapel Hill-Durham	1,955
**Charlotte	4,000
Fayetteville (incl. all Cumberland County)	500
Gastonia	220
Goldsboro	120
*Greensboro	3,200
Hendersonville	105
High Point	400
Raleigh	1,375
Rocky Mount	110
Whiteville Zone[w]	160
Wilmington	500
Winston-Salem	440
NORTH DAKOTA	
Fargo	500
Grand Forks	100
OHIO	
*Akron	6,000
*Canton	2,850
**Cincinnati	22,000
*Cleveland	70,000
*Columbus	13,000
*Dayton	6,000
East Liverpool	300
Elyria	275
Hamilton	560
Lima	290
Lorain	1,000
Mansfield	600
Marion	150
Middletown	140
New Philadelphia	140
Newark	105
Piqua	120
Portsmouth	120
Sandusky	150
Springfield	340
**Steubenville	220
**Toledo	6,300
Warren	500
Wooster	200
**Youngstown	5,230
Zanesville	350
OKLAHOMA	
Muskogee	120
**Oklahoma City	2,900
Oklahoma City Zone[t]	190
*Tulsa	2,900
OREGON	
Corvallis	140
Eugene	1,500
**Portland	8,845
Salem	200
PENNSYLVANIA	
Aliquippa	400
*Allentown	4,980
*Altoona	580
Ambridge	250
Beaver (incl. in Pittsburgh)	
Beaver Falls	350
Berwick	120
Bethlehem	960
Braddock	250
Bradford	150
Brownville	150
Butler	350
Carbon County	125
Carnegie	100
Central Bucks County	400
Chambersburg	340
Chester	2,100
Coatesville	305
Connellsville	110
**Delaware Valley (Lower Bucks Cty)[y]	20,500
Donora	100
Easton	1,300
Ellwood City	110
**Erie	875
Farrell	150
Greensburg	300
**Harrisburg	6,500
**Hazleton	481
Homestead	300
Indiana	135
*Johnstown	550
Kittanning	175
Lancaster	1,800
Lebanon	425
Lock Haven	140
McKeesport	2,000
Monessen	100
Mt. Pleasant	120
New Castle	400
New Kensington	560
*Norristown	2,090
North Penn	200

State and City	Jewish Population
Oil City	165
Oxford-Kennett Square	180
*Philadelphia Metropolitan Area	295,000
Phoenixville	340
**Pittsburgh	46,000
Pottstown	700
Pottsville	500
*Reading	2,800
Sayre	100
*Scranton	3,800
Sharon	330
State College	450
Stroudsburg	410
Sunbury	200
Uniontown	290
Upper Beaver	500
Washington (incl. in Pittsburgh)	
Wayne County	210
West Chester	300
*Wilkes-Barre	4,000
Williamsport	415
*York	1,600
RHODE ISLAND	
*Providence (incl. rest of state)	22,000
SOUTH CAROLINA	
*Charleston	3,500
**Columbia	2,600
Florence	350
Greenville	600
Orangeburg County	105
Spartanburg	295
Sumter	190
SOUTH DAKOTA	
*Sioux Falls	125
TENNESSEE	
Chattanooga	2,000
Johnson City[z]	210
Knoxville	1,350
*Memphis	9,000
*Nashville	4,925
Oak Ridge	240
TEXAS	
Amarillo	300
**Austin	3,000
Baytown	300
Beaumont	400
Brownsville	160
*Corpus Christi	1,200
**Dallas	22,000
De Witt County[aa]	150
**El Paso	4,500
*Ft. Worth	3,000
Galveston	620
*Houston	28,000
Laredo	420
Longview	185
Lubbock	350
McAllen	295
North Texas Zone[bb]	100
Odessa	150
Port Arthur	260
**San Antonio	9,000
Texarkana	100
Tyler	450
**Waco	600
Wharton	170
Wichita Falls	280
UTAH	
Ogden	100
**Salt Lake City	2,500
VERMONT	
Bennington	120
Burlington	1,800
Rutland	350
St. Johnsbury	100
VIRGINIA	
Alexandria (incl. Falls Church, Arlington County, and urban Fairfax County)	30,000
Arlington (incl. in Alexandria)	
Charlottesville	800
Danville	180
Fredericksburg	140
Hampton (incl. in Newport News)	
Harrisonburg	115
Hopewell	140
Lynchburg	275
Martinsville	135
*Newport News (incl. Hampton)	2,575
*Norfolk (incl. Virginia Beach)	11,000
Petersburg	600
*Portsmouth (incl. Suffolk)	1,100
Richmond	10,000
Roanoke	1,200
Williamsburg	120
Winchester	110
WASHINGTON	
Bellingham	120
Bremerton (incl. in Seattle)	
*Seattle	19,500
**Spokane	900
Tacoma	750
WEST VIRGINIA	
Bluefield-Princeton	250
Charleston	1,105
Clarksburg	205
Huntington	450
Morgantown	200
Parkersburg	155

State and City	Jewish Population
Weirton	150
Wheeling	650
WISCONSIN	
Appleton	250
Beloit	120
Eau Clair	120
Fond du Lac	100
Green Bay	350
Kenosha	250
Madison	4,500
Manitowoc	115
*Milwaukee	23,900
Oshkosh	150
Racine	405
Sheboygan	250
Superior	165
Waukesha (incl. in Milwaukee)	
Wausau	155
WYOMING	
Cheyenne	255

*Denotes estimates submitted in current year.

**Estimates submitted in current year; represents change from previous estimate.

[a]Florence, Sheffield, Tuscumbia.

[b]Towns in Chicot, Desha, Drew Counties.

[c]Includes Alta Loma, Chino, Claremont, Cucamonga, La Verne, Montclair, Ontario, Pomona, San Dimas, Upland.

[d]Centerbrook, Chester, Clinton, Deep River, Essex, Killingworth, Old Lyme, Old Saybrook, Seabrook, Westbrook.

[e]Ansonia, Derby-Shelton, Oxford, Seymour.

[f]Greater Washington includes urbanized portions of Montgomery and Prince Georges Counties, in Maryland; Arlington County, Fairfax County (organized portion), Falls Church, Alexandria, in Virginia.

[g]Rock Island, Moline (Illinois); Davenport, Bettendorf (Iowa).

[h]Towns in Alexander, Bond, Clay, Clinton, Crawford, Edwards, Effingham, Fayette, Franklin, Gallatin, Hamilton, Hardin, Jackson, Jasper, Jefferson, Jersey, Johnson, Lawrence, Mascoupin, Madison, Marion, Massac, Montgomery, Perry, Pope, Pulaski, Randolph, Richland, St. Clair, Saline, Union, Wabash, Washington, Wayne, White, Williamson Counties.

[i]Includes Crown Point, East Chicago, Gary, Hammond, Munster, Valparaiso, Whiting, and the Greater Calumet region.

[j]Towns in Caroline, Kent, Queen Annes, Talbot Counties.

[k]Allendale, Elmwood Park, Fair Lawn, Franklin Lakes, Oakland, Midland Park, Rochelle Park, Saddle Brook, Wykoff also included in North Jersey estimate.

[l]Includes Camden and Burlington Counties.

[m]Includes contiguous areas in Hudson, Morris, Somerset, and Union Counties.

[n]Includes Clayton, Paulsboro, Woodbury. Excludes Newfield; see Vineland.

[o]See footnote (m).

[p]Includes Guttenberg, Hudson Heights, North Bergen, North Hudson, Secaucus, Union City, Weehawken, West New York, Woodcliff.

[q]Includes Paterson, Wayne, Hawthorne in Passaic County, and nine towns in Bergen County. See footnote (k).

[t]Includes Perth Amboy, Metuchen, Edison Township (part), Woodbridge.
[u]Includes in Middlesex County, Cranbury, Dunellen, East Brunswick, Edison Township (part), Jamesburg, Matawan, Middlesex, Monmouth Junction, Old Bridge, Parlin, Piscataway, South River, Spottswood; in Somerset County, Kendall Park, Somerset; in Mercer County, Hightstown.
[v]Excludes Kendall Park and Somerset, which are included in Raritan Valley.
[w]Includes Mercer County in New Jersey; and Lower Makefield, Morrisville, Newtown, and Yardley in Pennsylvania.
[x]Includes in Cumberland County, Norma, Rosenheim, Vineland; in Salem County, Elmer; in Gloucester County, Clayton, Newfield; in Cape May County, Woodbine.
[y]Elizabethtown, Fairmont, Jacksonville, Lumberton, Tabor City, Wallace, Warsaw, and Loris, S.C.
[z]Towns in Alfalfa, Beckham, Cadelo, Canadian, Cleveland, Custer, Jackson, Kingfisher. Kiowa, Lincoln, Logan, Oklahoma, Payne, Roger Mills, Tillman, Washita Counties.
[aa]Bensalem Township, Bristol, Langhorne, Levittown, New Hope, Newtown, Penndel, Warington, Yardley. Also includes communities listed in footnote (u).
[bb]Includes Kingsport and Bristol (including the portion of Bristol in Virginia).
[cc]Includes communities also in Colorado, Fayette, Gonzales, and La Vaca Counties.
[dd]Denison, Gainesville, Greenville, Paris, Sherman, and Durant (Oklahoma).

World Jewish Population, 1982

Updated Estimates

THIS ARTICLE PRESENTS updates, as of 1982, of the Jewish population estimates for 1980 which were first published in the 1982 AJYB and reprinted in modified form in the 1983 AJYB. The estimates reflect some of the results of a prolonged and ongoing effort to scientifically study the demography of contemporary world Jewry.[1] Data collection and comparative research have benefited from the collaboration of scholars and institutions in many countries, including replies to direct inquiries regarding current estimates. It should be emphasized, however, that the elaboration of a worldwide set of estimates for the Jewish populations of the various countries is beset with difficulties and uncertainties.

About 95 per cent of world Jewry is concentrated in nine countries with approximately 100,000 or more Jews each. The aggregate of these nine major Jewish population centers virtually determines the assessment of the size of total world Jewry. The figures for 1980 have been updated to 1982 in accordance with the intervening changes—natural (i.e., births and deaths), affiliative, and migratory. In addition, some corrections have been introduced in the light of newly accrued information from recent population censuses and Jewish surveys. Analogous corrections have also been applied retrospectively to the 1980 figures, which appear below in revised summary (see Table 1), so as to allow for comparison with the 1982 estimates.

The elaboration of the 1982 estimates has been handicapped by the fact that some of the censuses taken around 1980 have not yet yielded detailed results or require further evaluation. The reader has been given some information on the quality of the estimate for each country by an accuracy-rating using a simple scale explained below.

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[1]Many of these activities have been carried out by, or in coordination with, the division of Jewish demography and statistics at the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Information on activities for the demographic study of the Jews can be found in the following joint publications of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Jerusalem, and the Institute of Jewish Affairs, London, which were edited by U.O. Schmelz, P. Glikson, and S. J. Gould: *Jewish Population Studies, 1961–1968,* 1970; *Studies in Jewish Demography: Survey for 1969–1971,* 1975; and *Studies in Jewish Demography: Survey for 1972–1980,* 1983. See also U.O. Schmelz, *World Jewish Population: Regional Estimates and Projections* (Jerusalem, 1981).

Jewish Population Trends[2]

Diaspora Jews are highly dispersed. In most countries their number is now rather small and they constitute no more than a minute fraction of the entire population. Consequently, though Jews tend to cluster in large cities, they are greatly exposed to assimilation.

The Jews in most countries of the Diaspora are demographically characterized by very low fertility, considerable out-marriage, involving losses of children to the Jewish population,[3] some other assimilatory losses, and great aging. The aging, in turn, reduces the birth rate and raises the death rate. There are differences in the levels of these demographic factors among the Jews in various regions and countries of the world. In all the major Diaspora populations the joint balance of the natural and affiliative changes is now close to nil or outrightly negative, e.g., the Jewish deceased outnumber newborn Jews.

With regard to the balance of external migrations, there is no regularity among the various Diaspora populations or even in the same population over time. Where the migratory balance is positive—e.g., in North America—it counteracts or even outweighs the numerically negative influence of internal demographic developments. Where the migratory balance is negative, it may cause, or aggravate, the decrease of a Jewish population. In 1981–1982, the volume of international migrations of Jews was much diminished as a result of a reduction in the number of exit permits given to Soviet Jews.

In contrast, Jews in Israel incur virtually no out-marriages and direct assimilatory losses. Moreover, they have a younger age structure than Diaspora Jews, usually enjoy a positive migration balance, and exhibit a fairly high level of fertility. The previously substantial fertility differentials between Jews in-gathered in Israel from Asia-Africa and Europe-America are no longer in evidence. Remarkably, European Jews have raised their fertility in Israel. In recent years both major origin groups among Israel's Jews have displayed a fertility level surpassing not only most Diaspora Jewries but also the general populations in the developed countries.

In the overall demographic balance of world Jewry, the natural increase of Israel is making up for losses in the Diaspora. (*Aliyah* and *yeridah*, of course, constitute only internal transfers within the global Jewish framework.)

Difficulties in Estimating Jewish Population Size in the Diaspora[4]

Some of the difficulties involved in estimating the size of Jewish Diaspora populations are common to all aspects of the study of Diaspora demography. They are mainly due to the great geographical scattering of Jews; their unusually strong

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[2]A fuller discussion of the subject can be found in U.O. Schmelz, "Jewish Survival: The Demographic Factors," AJYB, Vol. 81, 1981, pp. 61–117.

[3]When less than half of the children of the out-married are themselves Jews.

[4]Reliable figures are currently forthcoming for the Jews of Israel from official statistics.

demographic dynamics in many respects—migrations, social mobility, family formation patterns (including out-marriage), etc.; and to lacunae of available demographic information, which is deficient in both quantity and quality.

More specific difficulties in estimating the up-to-date size of Jewish populations are due to conceptual and measurement problems.

When mixed couples and households are not infrequent, it is necessary to distinguish between the "actually Jewish population" and the "enlarged Jewish population." The latter comprises also the non-Jewish household members (spouses, children, etc.) of the Jews. However socially significant the non-Jewish household members (and more distant non-Jewish relatives) of Jews may be, they should not be included in a count of Jews.

An even more vexed problem is affiliative changes among Jews. Under present conditions, there are Jews who have not formally embraced another religion, yet are either very estranged ("marginal") or have even become resolutely alienated from Judaism and the Jewish community and, if questioned, disclaim to be Jews any longer. When a census or survey is taken which inquires into religion or ethnicity, these individuals have an opportunity to define their current status subjectively (official censuses accept self-determination). In estimating Jewish population size it is usual to include, in principle, all the "marginal" individuals who have not ceased to be Jews.[5] On the other hand, some conversions to Judaism are contested between the various ideological trends—Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform. In the relevant official censuses, self-determination prevails also with regard to any additional persons who claim to be Jews.

Not a few Jews (like other persons) have some residential status in more than one country.[6] This may be due to business requirements, professional assignments in foreign countries, climatic differences between countries, migrants staying temporarily in prolonged transit, etc. The danger of double-counting or omissions is inherent in such situations. As far as possible, we have tried to account for such persons only once.

Statistical data from official population censuses are unavailable for most Diaspora Jewries. Even where census statistics on Jews are forthcoming, they tend to be scant, because the Jews are a small minority.[7] In some countries serious problems exist, or are feared to exist, in the reporting of Jews as such; these problems require statistical evaluation whose feasibility and conclusiveness depend on the relevant information available.

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[5]Even persons who disclaim at some stage of life to be Jews any longer may change their minds later.

[6]The problem is even more acute with regard to residential status in more than one locality of the same country, but this does not affect the population estimates for entire countries.

[7]There have been, however, instances where detailed tabulations on Jews have been undertaken, through Jewish initiative, from official census material. Examples are Canada, South Africa, and Argentina.

Surveys are the only way of obtaining comprehensive information on Jewish populations in the absence of official censuses. Jewish-sponsored surveys have the additional advantage of being able to inquire into matters of specifically Jewish interest, e.g., Jewish education, observances, and attitudes.[8] However, since they address themselves to a small and scattered minority with identity problems, they are not easy to conduct competently, and may encounter difficulties with regard to both coverage and response, especially with regard to "marginal" Jews. Again, these require statistical evaluation.

Many of the estimates of Jewish population for which no solid data from censuses or surveys exist are regrettably of unspecified or dubious source and methodology.

Besides the conceptual and measurement difficulties affecting the figures for a Jewish population at any base date, similar problems recur with regard to the updating information which should account for all the various types of changes in the time elapsed since the base date. For natural and affiliative changes, age-sex-specific models can be of use; these may be applied after studying the evolution of the respective or similar Jewish populations. With regard to the migratory balance in any updating interval, concrete information must be gathered, because of the above-mentioned irregularity, over time, in the intensity of many migratory streams.

Presentation of Data

The detailed estimates of Jewish population distribution in each continent (Tables 2–6 below) refer to residents in countries with at least 100 Jews. A residual estimate of "other" Jews living in smaller communities, or staying temporarily in transit accommodations, supplements the continental total. For each of the reported countries, the four columns in the table provide the United Nations estimate of mid-year 1981 total population,[9] the estimated end-1982 Jewish population, the proportion of Jews per 1,000 total population, and a rating of the accuracy of the Jewish population estimates.

There is wide variation in the quality of the Jewish population estimates for different countries. For many Diaspora countries it would be best to indicate a range (minimum-maximum) rather than a definite figure for the number of Jews. It would be confusing, however, for the reader to be confronted with a long list of ranges; this would also complicate the regional and world totals. Yet, the figures actually indicated for most of the Diaspora countries should be understood as being the

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[8]Countrywide surveys have been undertaken in the United States, South Africa, France, Italy, Netherlands, etc. Local surveys have been carried out, notably in U.S. cities, in the United Kingdom, Latin America, Australia, etc. However, these local initiatives have been uncoordinated with regard to content and method.

[9]These were the latest official estimates available at the time of writing. See United Nations, Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, Statistical Office, *Population and Vital Statistics Report; Data Available as of January 1, 1983.* Statistical Papers, Series A, Vol. XXXV, No. 1, New York, 1983.

central value of the plausible range. The relative magnitude of this range varies inversely to the accuracy of the estimate.

The three main elements which affect the accuracy of each estimate are the nature of the base data, the recency of the base data, and the method of updating. A simple code, combining these elements, is used to provide a general evaluation of the reliability of the Jewish population figures reported in the detailed tables below. The code indicates different ranges of possible error in the reported estimates: (A) base figure derived from countrywide census or reliable Jewish population survey; updated on the basis of full or partial information on Jewish population movements in the intervening period; (B) base figure derived from somewhat less accurate countrywide Jewish population investigation; partial information on population movements in the intervening period; (C) base figure derived from less recent sources, and/or partial coverage of Jewish population in country; updating according to demographic information illustrative of regional demographic trends; and (D) base figure essentially conjectural; no reliable updating procedure. In categories (A), (B), and (C), the year for which the principal base figure was obtained is also reported.

For countries whose Jewish population estimate of 1982 was revised on the basis of improved information, as distinct from mere updating, the sign "x" is appended to the accuracy rating.

Distribution of World Jewish Population by Major Regions

Table 1 gives an overall picture for 1982 as compared to 1980. For 1980, both the originally published estimates and somewhat revised figures are presented.

The size of world Jewry is assessed at about 13 million. The estimated growth between 1980 and 1982 was negligible—world Jewry has reached "zero population growth." While the number of Jews in Israel rose from 3,283,000 in 1980 to 3,374,000 at the end of 1982, Diaspora Jewry declined from 9,700,000 (according to the revised figures) to approximately 9,614,000. By the end of 1982, Israel's Jews constituted 26 per cent of total world Jewry.

About half of the world's Jews reside in the Americas, with 46 per cent in North America. Twenty-six per cent live in Asia (excluding the Asian territories of the USSR and Turkey), nearly all of them in Israel. Europe (including the Asian territories of the USSR and Turkey) accounts for 22 per cent of the total. The proportions of the world's Jews who live in Africa and Oceania are very small.

Among the major geographical regions listed in Table 1, Israel—and, in consequence, total Asia—increased by close to three per cent in the two-year span 1980–1982. North America attained a minute increase of 0.2 per cent. All the other regions are estimated to have sustained decreases in Jewish population size.

TABLE 1. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION, BY CONTINENTS AND MAJOR GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS, 1980 AND 1982

Region	1980			1982		% Change
		Revised				
	Original	Abs. Nos.	Per Cent	Abs. Nos.	Per Cent	1980–82
Diaspora	9,745,200	9,700,200	74.7	9,614,300	74.0	−0.9
Israel	3,282,700	3,282,700	25.3	3,374,300	26.0	+2.8
World	13,027,900	12,982,900	100.0	12,988,600	100.0	+0.0
America, Total	6,491,950	6,473,600	49.9	6,477,700	49.9	+0.1
North[a]	5,998,000	5,998,000	46.2	6,013,000	46.3	+0.2
Central	44,750	47,700	0.4	46,800	0.4	−1.9
South	449,200	427,900	3.3	417,900	3.2	−2.3
Europe, Total	2,969,500	2,928,800	22.6	2,842,700	21.9	−2.9
West	1,121,000	1,080,300	8.3	1,070,900	8.3	−0.9
East & Balkans[b]	1,848,500	1,848,500	14.2	1,771,800	13.6	−4.2
Asia, Total	3,327,900	3,327,900	25.6	3,417,200	26.3	+2.7
Israel	3,282,700	3,282,700	25.3	3,374,300	26.0	+2.8
Rest[c]	45,200	45,200	0.4	42,900	0.3	−5.1
Africa, Total	164,550	173,600	1.3	172,000	1.3	−0.9
North	21,050	22,550	0.2	21,250	0.2	−5.8
South	109,550	120,550	0.9	120,250	0.9	−0.2
Rest[c]	33,950	30,500	0.2	30,500	0.2	—
Oceania	74,000	79,000	0.6	79,000	0.6	—

[a]U.S.A. and Canada.

[b]The Asian territories of USSR and Turkey are included in "East Europe and Balkans."

[c]Including Ethiopia.

Individual Countries

THE AMERICAS

The Jewish population in the United States is estimated to have increased from 5,690,000 in 1980 to 5,705,000 in 1982, as a consequence of immigration. This figure does not include non-Jewish members of Jewish households who are included in the detailed U.S. Jewish population estimates which are reported elsewhere in this volume.[10]

[10]For derivation of the estimate for U.S. Jewry from the National Jewish Population Study (NJPS) of 1970–1971, see Schmelz, *World Jewish Population, op. cit.*, pp. 32–36. For a discussion of U.S. Jewish population dynamics and perspectives, see U.O. Schmelz and S. DellaPergola, "The Demographic Consequences of U.S. Jewish Population Trends," AJYB, Vol. 83, 1983, pp. 141–187.

In Canada an official population census was held in 1981, with the first reports showing 296,425 Jews according to religion and 264,025 Jews according to ethnic origin. No cross-classification of both these characteristics is yet available. In the 1971 census, nearly 10,000 persons declared themselves to be ethnic Jews, but with no religion (which excludes ethnic Jews who embraced Christianity). Assuming a similar magnitude of this group in recent years, the estimate of 308,000 already given for 1980, has been maintained. Reevaluation will be necessary as more specific information becomes available.

TABLE 2. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN THE AMERICAS, 1982

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating		
Canada	24,231,000	308,000	12.7	A	1981	
U.S.A.	229,807,000	5,705,000	24.8	B	1971	
Total Northern America		6,013,000				
Bahamas	248,000	500	2.0	B	1970	
Costa Rica	2,271,000	2,200	1.0	C	1980	x
Cuba	9,717,000	700	0.1	D		x
Dominican Republic	5,581,000	100	0.0	D		x
Guatemala	7,481,000	900	0.1	D		
Haiti	5,104,000	100	0.0	D		x
Jamaica	2,220,000	300	0.1	B	1982	x
Mexico	71,193,000	35,000	0.5	C	1970	
Netherlands Antilles	261,000	700	2.7	D		
Panama	1,940,000	3,500	1.8	C	1982	x
Puerto Rico	3,242,000	2,500	0.8	D		x
Other		300		D		x
Total Central America		46,800				
Argentina	28,085,000	233,000	8.3	C	1960	
Bolivia	5,755,000	1,000	0.2	C	1982	
Brazil	121,547,000	100,000	0.8	B	1980	x
Chile	11,294,000	20,000	1.8	C	1970	x
Colombia	28,776,000	7,000	0.2	B	1977	
Ecuador	8,644,000	1,000	0.1	C	1982	
Paraguay	3,268,000	700	0.2	C	1982	
Peru	18,279,000	5,000	0.3	C	1982	
Surinam	397,000	200	0.5	D		x
Uruguay	2,927,000	30,000	10.2	D		x
Venezuela	14,313,000	20,000	1.4	D		x
Total Southern America		417,900				
Total		6,477,700				

The estimate for Mexico has been kept unchanged at 35,000. Modifications have been introduced for several Central American states with smaller populations.

The Jewish population of Argentina is marked by a negative balance in both internal evolution and external migrations. The estimate has been reduced, therefore, from 242,000 in 1980 to 233,000 in 1982. The official population census of Brazil in 1980 showed a figure of 91,795 Jews. However, only first results have so far become known, without cross-classifications. Since it is possible that some Jews failed to declare themselves as such in the census, the estimate for 1982 has been provisionally set at the round figure of 100,000. The recent census has confirmed the lower order of magnitude of the authors' estimates as compared to the exaggerated figures previously circulated. On the strength of fragmentary information that is accumulating, the admittedly quite tentative estimates for Uruguay and Chile have been revised downward, while that for Venezuela has been raised somewhat.

EUROPE

France has the largest Jewish population in Western Europe, estimated at 530,000. Analysis of the demographic situation in France points to a rapid change in the marriage and fertility patterns of North African Jews. Immigration of Jews has diminished greatly; hence it is assumed that the total number of Jews in France has declined slightly. A reestimation of the size of British Jewry was carried out by the research unit of the Board of Deputies, based on an analysis of Jewish deaths during the period 1975–1979. The revised population figure for 1977 was 354,000, with a margin of error of $\pm$32,000. Based on this, the round figure of 350,000 for 1982, as the central value of the likely range, is suggested. This updated estimate takes into account the partially documented deficit in internal dynamics and external migrations of British Jewry. The Swiss census of 1980 produced a figure of 18,330 Jews. Taking into account an increase in the proportion of individuals not declaring a religion among the Swiss population as compared to previous decennial censuses, but also as a downward trend since 1980, the estimate for 1982 has been set at 19,300. The records of the Jewish communities in West Germany point to stability in the overall size of the Jewish population. The same situation is likely for Italian Jewry. In Belgium and the Netherlands, deficits in internal Jewish population dynamics are assumed to have resulted in somewhat smaller Jewish communities.

By far the largest Jewish population in Eastern Europe is concentrated in the Soviet Union, including its Asian territory. Only about 12,000 Jews were permitted to leave for abroad in 1981–1982, but the heavy deficit of internal population dynamics continued and even grew, due to the great aging which prevailed. Under these circumstances the estimate has been reduced from 1,700,000 in 1980 to 1,630,000 in 1982. The Jewish populations in Hungary and Rumania, and the small remnants extant in Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, and Bulgaria, are all reputed to be very overaged. Their inevitable numerical decline is reflected in

reduced estimates. The Jewish population of Turkey is being eroded by both an excess of deaths over births and emigration.

TABLE 3. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN EUROPE, 1982

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Austria	7,510,000	7,500	1.0	B 1971 x
Belgium	9,861,000	32,500	3.3	D
Bulgaria	8,890,000	3,400	0.4	C 1965
Czechoslovakia	15,314,000	8,700	0.6	D
Denmark	5,122,000	6,900	1.4	C 1968
Finland	4,801,000	1,000	0.2	B 1982
France	53,963,000	530,000	9.8	B 1972–8
Germany, East	16,736,000	900	0.1	D
Germany, West	61,666,000	33,500	0.5	B 1982
Gibraltar	30,000	600	20.0	A 1981 x
Great Britain	55,833,000	350,000	6.3	B 1977 x
Greece	9,707,000	5,000	0.5	B 1978
Hungary	10,711,000	63,000	5.9	D
Ireland	3,440,000	2,000	0.6	B 1982
Italy	57,197,000	32,000	0.6	B 1982
Luxemburg	364,000	700	1.9	B 1970
Netherlands	14,246,000	26,500	1.9	B 1966
Norway	4,100,000	950	0.2	A 1982
Poland	35,902,000	4,800	0.1	D
Portugal	9,931,000	600	0.1	D
Rumania	22,457,000	30,000	1.3	B 1979
Spain	37,654,000	12,000	0.3	D
Sweden	8,324,000	15,000	1.8	C 1982
Switzerland	6,473,000	19,000	2.9	A 1980 x
Turkey[a]	45,366,000	21,000	0.5	C 1982
USSR[a]	267,697,000	1,630,000	6.1	B 1979
Yugoslavia	22,516,000	5,000	0.2	B 1980
Other		150		D
Total		2,842,700		

[a]Including Asian regions.

ASIA

Israel accounts for 99 per cent of all the Jews in Asia, excluding the Asian territories of the USSR and Turkey. Israel's satisfactory official statistics make it clear that the number of Jews rose from 3,282,700 at the end of 1980 to 3,374,300

at the end of 1982. This growth of about 90,000 was essentially due to natural increase. The Jewish population of Iran continued to dwindle.

TABLE 4. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN ASIA, 1982

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Hong Kong	5,154,000	1,000	0.2	C 1980 x
India	676,218,000	4,300	0.0	B 1971
Iran	39,320,000	30,000	0.8	D
Iraq	13,527,000	200	0.0	D
Israel	4,063,700[a]	3,374,300	830.4	A 1982
Japan	117,645,000	800	0.0	D
Lebanon	2,685,000	250	0.1	D x
Philippines	49,530,000	150	0.0	C 1982 x
Singapore	2,443,000	400	0.2	C 1982 x
Syria	9,314,000	4,000	0.4	D x
Thailand	47,488,000	300	0.0	C 1980 x
Yemen	5,940,000	1,200	0.2	D
Other		300		D x
Total		3,417,200		

[a]End 1982.

AFRICA

The Republic of South Africa undertook a decennial population census in 1980. To date, the number of Jews is known only from tabulations of a five per cent

TABLE 5. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA, 1982

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Algeria	19,590,000	300	0.0	D
Egypt	43,465,000	250	0.0	D
Ethiopia	32,158,000	27,000	0.8	C 1976 x
Morocco	20,646,000	17,000	0.8	C 1971
South Africa	30,131,000	119,000	4.0	B 1980 x
Tunisia	6,513,000	3,700	0.6	C 1982 x
Zaire	26,377,000	200	0.0	D
Zambia	5,961,000	300	0.1	D
Zimbabwe	7,600,000	1,250	0.2	C 1980
Other		3,000		D x
Total		172,000		

sample. The figure amounted to about 119,000, with a margin of error of ±3,000. This estimate has been provisionally adopted here, pending hoped-for clarifications in the future. The figure for Jews in Ethiopia has been revised downward to 27,000. Morocco's Jews continue to diminish. New information has led to a somewhat higher estimate for Tunisia.

OCEANIA

The Australian census of 1981 indicated 62,127 Jews according to religion. However, a reply to the census question about religion was not mandatory, and the proportion among the general population leaving the question unanswered or stating "no religion" increased (to 21.7 per cent) as compared to previous censuses. Though the migratory balance of Australian Jewry must have been small in 1981–1982 due to a paucity of Soviet Jewish migrants, the estimated total has been raised provisionally to 75,000. Higher figures which have been put foward are still under examination.

TABLE 6. ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN OCEANIA, 1982

Country	Total Population	Jewish Population	Jews per 1,000 Population	Accuracy Rating
Australia	14,927,000	75,000	5.0	B 1981 x
New Zealand	3,125,000	4,000	1.3	B 1981
Total		79,000		

Jews Per 1,000 Total Population

With the exception of the State of Israel, Jews generally form no more than a small minority of the total population of their countries of residence. Only six countries had at least eight Jews per 1,000 inhabitants. These are, in descending order of their Jewish population size: United States (24.8); France (9.8); Canada (12.7); Argentina (8.3); Uruguay (10.2); and Gibraltar (20.0). There were 830.4 Jews per 1,000 inhabitants in Israel (excluding the administered territories).

Communities With Largest Jewish Populations

A remarkable feature of world Jewish population distribution is its concentration pattern. In 1982 about 95 per cent of world Jewry lived in the nine largest Jewish population centers, with at least 100,000 Jews each (see Table 7). Over 82 per cent lived in three countries (United States, 5,705,000; Israel, 3,374,300; Soviet Union, 1,630,000); the next three countries (France, 530,000; Great Britain, 350,000; Canada, 308,000) accounted together for nine per cent of the world total; and the next three (Argentina, 233,000; South Africa, 119,000; Brazil, 100,000) accounted

together for less than four per cent of the world total. Not considering Israel, the eight largest Diaspora populations comprised together 93 per cent of total Diaspora Jewry.

TABLE 7. COUNTRIES WITH LARGEST JEWISH POPULATION (100,000 JEWS AND ABOVE), 1982.

Rank	Country	Jewish Population	% of Total Jewish Population	
			In the Diaspora	In the World
1	United States	5,705,000	59.3	43.9
2	Israel	3,374,300	—	26.0
3	Soviet Union	1,630,000	17.0	12.5
4	France	530,000	5.5	4.1
5	Great Britain	350,000	3.6	2.7
6	Canada	308,000	3.2	2.4
7	Argentina	233,000	2.4	1.8
8	South Africa	119,000	1.2	0.9
9	Brazil	100,000	1.1	0.8
Total 8 Largest Diaspora Communities		8,975,000	93.3	69.1
Total 9 Largest World Communities		12,349,300	—	95.1

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